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Hanoi uneasy at prospects of Sino-American rapprochement

North Vietnam is one of the countries that views the attempt to bring about Sino-American rapprochement with the greatest uneasiness. *Nhan Dan*, the Party newspaper, has already reacted to President Nixon's invitation to Peking with bitter accusations.

The great powers, the North Vietnamese paper comments, must not be allowed to engage in Balkan bargaining at smaller countries' expense. Hanoi will unswervingly continue on the independent course leading to final victory.

There is a clear pointer in the article to whom the warning is issued. The Vietnamese people, it is noted, have dealt in their time with "a number of major imperialisms."

Without a doubt this means not only the colonial policies of the French but also the old southward push of the Chinese empire.

The unease that has befallen the North Vietnamese leadership is not entirely unfounded. It cannot, for that matter, be *assuaged by the recent* welter of wordy assurances by Peking's propaganda pledging unshakeable solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples of Indo-China.

Hanoi has noted with suspicion the tendency in Peking to view Chinese home and foreign affairs in terms of *realpolitik*.

In view of the Soviet threat and American disengagement in Asia Peking's security requirements now form the basis of Chinese foreign policy.

For many years it looked as though Peking were Hanoi's most reliable ally. Both sides set great store by the concept of people's liberation war. The Chinese leaders had a basic interest in assuring the communist cause of victory in South-East Asia and were prepared to make sacrifices to further this end too.

The situation has changed somewhat since the extension of the Vietnam war to Cambodia and Laos at the latest. The strong commitments of North Vietnamese forces, indeed their dominant role on the battlefields of both countries, has made Peking think again.

The idea of a powerful united Indo-China under Hanoi's leadership emerging on China's southern flank, a state that for its own safety would join forces with a power hostile to China, say the Soviet Union, forced Peking to act.

Ever since Peking has pursued a systematic policy aimed at setting up three communist States in Indo-China. Chinese propaganda accordingly emphasises the liberation struggle of the three Indo-Chinese peoples.

Prince Sihanouk, the former Cambodian head of State, is not for nothing now resident in Peking rather than in Hanoi.

Once Chinese Premier Chou En-lai stated that China is prepared to take part in a rerun of the 1954 Geneva conference on Indo-China Hanoi's suspicion developed into certainty.

The extent to which Peking has changed its mind is self-evident when one recalls how insistent the Chinese leaders used to be about never negotiating in any way with the imperialists. The Paris Vietnam talks, for instance, have to this day not been given a single mention in the Chinese press.

Peking's decision to change its approach, indeed cooperate in a similar context, can only be attributed to the changes in the international situation that have since come about.

The North Vietnamese and the Vietcong representatives in Paris well know why they felt the need to reject promptly and outright the idea of a renewal of the Geneva conference.

The reason is not only that the Vietnamese Communists fared badly at Geneva in 1954. At Moscow's insistence more than anything else the 1954 conference robbed them of the fruits of victory at Dien Bien Phu when there was next to nothing stopping them from taking over all Vietnam.

In view of the domestic situation in the United States Hanoi may well feel that a similar state of affairs again obtains. Once again there is a risk that the fruits of superhuman effort in the course of a dreadful war waged at unspeakable cost will be harvested not by Hanoi but, this time, by Peking.

There are reasons for suspecting that the Chinese Communists have an eye to the main chance. No one could, for instance, object to a new Indon-China conference being chaired not by Britain and the Soviet Union, as in 1954, but by China and the United States, both of whom are far more directly concerned.

China and the United States could guarantee the agreements reached. The outcome would undoubtedly be in the interest of the two hitherto rival great powers China and America. With equal certainty it would not correspond with the national ambitions cherished in Hanoi.

This fear is unmistakeably apparent in the first reaction of the North Vietnamese Party newspaper to Mr Nixon's invitation to visit Peking.

Hanoi shudders at the thought of a renaissance of China as a great power deciding the fate of the peoples of East Asia.

There can be no predicting what moves the North Vietnamese leadership will feel obliged to make in view of this prospect. The sensations of the past few days in the Far East can be expected not to be the last.

Harry Hamm

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 July 1971)

Many happy returns!

Federal Republic President Gustav Heinemann celebrated his 72nd birthday on 23 July. People from all walks of life attended the unofficial birthday party given at the Villa Hammerschmidt where Chancellor Willy Brandt toasted the President.

(Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Peking seeks to establish diplomatic contact with the EEC

China is the first communist-ruled country to follow in Yugoslavia's footsteps and seek to accredit an ambassador to the European Economic Community. "Moscow," Italian Premier Emilio Colombo commented, "will then have to give up its thirteen-year refusal to recognise the EEC."

Signor Colombo knows what he is talking about. In discussions with Italian diplomats the Chinese have expressed a desire to conclude a trade agreement with the EEC as a community rather than with individual member-countries.

As an experienced member of the EEC and a convinced European the Italian Premier has grasped at the opportunity presented for the Common Market.

So far the Kremlin has refused to acknowledge the existence of a supranational Western European organisation based in Brussels. Soviet ideologists would then be forced to admit that the allegedly insuperable contradictions between capitalists in Common Market countries are steadily (though with difficulty) being overcome.

But if Peking sends a representative to Brussels and the European Commission the Soviet Union cannot afford to leave the Chinese to their own devices.

The outcome would be sensational. Soviet diplomats commented a year ago that economic association of Western Europe is a matter for the countries concerned.

It is now noticeable, however, that Peking's diplomats in Western Europe are welcoming the extension of the Common Market to include Britain as openly as Premier Chou En-lai whereas the Russians are either saying nothing or voicing flat and passive criticism.

In Berne recently Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev told the same old anti-EEC story. The Swiss were taken aback; the visitor apologised. "Perhaps," he said, "I put it too strongly."

In seven European capitals, Vienna, Berne, Stockholm, Helsinki, Bucharest, Budapest and Warsaw, developments are being followed with the greatest of interest.

The four neutrals Austria, Switzerland, Sweden and Finland would like to establish some kind of link with the EEC.

The Rumanians, Hungarians and Poles hope that their similar wishes for closer contacts with the Common Market will no longer be rejected by Moscow once the Soviet government is forced by circumstances – the Peking angle and the realisation that the EEC is a reality – to abandon its resistance.

So far the Poles and Hungarians in particular have tried in vain to gain permission from Moscow to establish closer ties with the European Community.

In order not to have to acquiesce the Soviet Union has also placed obstacles in the way of Austrian association with the Common Market by referring to the 1955 treaty and the Austrian parliament's commitment to everlasting neutrality.

What the Poles are saying is that what the Soviet government allows the Austrian capitalists one of these days it will no longer be able to refuse its communist brethren.

Hermann Bohle

(Kieler Nachrichten, 24 July 1971)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

America's relations with Europe

The untiring fight influential US Senators have fought for years to achieve a reduction in American troop strength in Europe has ideological aspects.

Not that political calculations do not have a part to play. Interests are weighed against one another, either taxes could be cut or the money made available for other purposes. At the same time the President would suffer a domestic defeat.

But these are not the foundation stones of this particular political battle. They could hardly explain the missionary zeal with which it is fought.

The ideological nature of the campaign to pull US forces out of Europe is a result of the outlook of a sanguine body of politicians who now advocate as complete a withdrawal as possible by the United States from the military theatres of the world.

Oddly enough this same group of men previously devoted a similar missionary zeal to a foreign policy of intervention.

Men of ideals whose foreign policy is designed to achieve ethical rather than merely realistic aims are, as Europe has known since the days of Woodrow Wilson, mainly to be found among the ranks of the Democratic Party, which is now in opposition to President Nixon.

Just after the war, in the shadow of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the expectation that victory over Hitler and the establishment of the United Nations heralded an era of peace and democracy all over the world, it was felt to be morally incumbent on and a matter of course for the United States to establish and help to stabilise the supremacy of Western ideals all over the globe.

During the Cold War there appeared to be no doubt as to the justification of America's role as the vanguard of the free world against Communism.

It took the war in Vietnam, the first military commitment ever that the United States was unable to bring to a successful conclusion, to bring about a change in the political conviction that America is duty bound to police the world.

It is no longer felt to be a matter of course that American military must if needs be be provided to guarantee the freedom, security and prosperity of other countries.

America has had enough of international commitments and this widespread feeling exists independently of the stated reasons why the United States ought to withdraw its troops from Europe.

Europe, it is said, could defend itself or at least make a greater contribution to its own defence than at present. America cannot be expected to bear the brunt at the expense of its own social progress when its allies in Europe have themselves grown prosperous under America's wing.

Strangely enough this argument has remained unanswered for years even though its superficiality is easily proven.

It is, of course, not enough to point out that the GIs on the Elbe are defending not only this country and Western Europe but also themselves. Nor is it sufficient to add that this country at least by virtue of the offset agreement on foreign exchange costs of stationing American troops here provides susceptible US exports with a powerful shot in the arm.

There are other reasons altogether that prove the point. The United States, for instance, is not alone in having taken on commitments that Europe itself could manage. In development aid, say, the reverse is the case.

The UN guideline for development aid on the part of industrialised countries is one per cent of GNP. America spends only half a per cent of GNP on development aid, the Common Market countries more than a full per cent.

Another reason follows on from a comparison between the Eastern and Western military alliances. In both instances the leading powers bear a disproportionate share of the burden of defence costs, the Soviet Union in comparison a good deal more than the United States.

It may, of course, be argued that the Soviet Union has every reason for so doing since not the least important function of the Red Army is to ensure the internal stability of the Eastern Bloc.

Yet this sidesteps the political core of the comparison, which serves merely to bear out yet again the historic fact that a hegemonial role and imperial claims must be backed by power-political presence.

The influential group that would like America to withdraw from its world commitments are putting their country in a dubious position. The United States would appear to want to retain the perquisites of leadership while abandoning the obligations.

US troops are to be withdrawn but America is to retain supreme command. America's allies in Europe are to spend more on defence but not on nuclear weapons, which are an indispensable part of effective self-defence.

Detente and disarmament are to take place but to be negotiated not by the allies but by the two superpowers on everyone else's behalf.

American military presence in Europe is to be reduced but there is to be no scaling-down of the highly profitable economic presence.

America's allies are to provide the political infra-structure for US investments but a direct guarantee for the political infra-structure is no longer to be provided.

This will not do. Power without a mandate may be a possibility. A mandate without power is not.

Johannes Gross

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 July 1971)

Britain's Labour Party's EEC doubts raise basic issues

When the Common Market was established there were supporters and opponents of the idea of a European Community in all six countries. There was a struggle between pro and contra, between rose-tinted visions of the future on one hand and jeremiads on the other. At no stage, however, did the debate appear to be as heated as it is in Britain at the moment.

The Social Democrats admittedly took their time to grow accustomed to the idea. So did the trade unions. But by the time Social Democrats formed part of the ruling coalitions in Bonn and Rome and Britain's Labour government applied for membership of the Six there were visions of a socialist Europe with a different colour predominating on the map of the free part of the Continent.

Those who did not relish the idea can now breathe more easily. Harold Wilson is engaged in a piece of political tight-rope walking and appears no longer to want anything to do with Europe and Labour is in the process of mortifiying itself with a truly Mediterranean passion.

For most Labourites Willy Brandt, who resolutely advocated British membership long before M. Pompidou joined the bandwaggon, would no longer appear to be a comrade-in-arms but merely a German and as such someone to be viewed warily.

Pro-Marketeer Roy Jenkins admittedly has not minced words. Unless Britain joins now, he commented, Willy Brandt will number among the losers and Herr Brandt is a key figure in the prospects of world peace.

Even for Mr Jenkins, however, one of the aims of EEC membership is to commit the Germans even more firmly to the democratic West. Thus this country remains a political plaything for many leading politicians even within the European Community.

This brings us back to one of the longest-standing questions of them all. To what end is Europe to unite or be united? In the course of foreign policy consultations inaugurated by the Six with the Middle East mainly in mind there would be no harm in openly debating this fundamental issue.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 July 1971)

Bonn and Libya agree to differ

In talks with Libyan Deputy Premier Abdessalam Djallud on 20 July Chancellor Willy Brandt emphasised that in his view a just peace in the Middle East can be concluded only on the basis of recognition of the right of all peoples to existence and security.

Djallud is also the Minister of Economic Affairs, Production and Development of his country, which has a population of only a million and a half but is swimming in oil and money.

In the current year of account the revolutionary junta, radically Arab in political alignment, have allocated £300 million for industrial development.

The Deputy Premier stated his country's immediate aims to be liquefaction of Libya's ample reserves of natural gas and the development of a petrochemical industry.

In the course of talks in Bonn with Foreign and Finance Ministry experts and Dr Eppler, the Minister responsible for development aid, Djallud expressed a desire for intensification of cooperation with this country, which is Libya's largest single customer.

The Libyans would also like to secure cooperation in their projected industrial development. This is less a matter of money than one of technological and economic know-how.

Specifically Libya would like, in addition to cooperation with Federal Republic industry, assistance from the Bonn Federal government in the training of Libyan specialists, the drafting of an economic structural programme and the supply of specialists to prepare the way for the exploitation of natural gas reserves in particular.

At a press conference held to mark the conclusion of his two-day visit Djallud again underscored his government's hard line on the Palestine question. He frankly admitted that even after his talks in Bonn profound differences of opinion remained,

He also noted that this country has requested him to assist in bringing about a return to normal in relations between Bonn and the Arab countries.

(Die Welt, 21 July 1971)

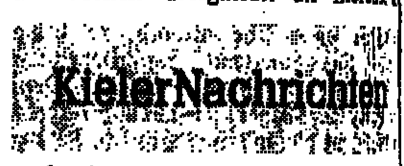
Paris and Peking remain on good terms

France will retain an important role in the new Chinese diplomatic offensive, Paris feels, following a visit to Peking by a French parliamentary delegation.

Premier Chou En-lai finally accepted the French offer, made last summer, of a reciprocal visit by a Chinese delegation which will probably arrive in Paris some time before 11 October.

Should the delegation be headed by Deputy Premier Lee Hsien-lien, as well-informed observers in Paris suspect, this will only go to confirm the importance attached by Peking to good relations with France.

Premier Chou, incidentally, promised the French delegation an increase in trade. At present France is only sixth on the list of exporters to China. In future French goods are to be given preferential treatment provided they equal those of Western competitors in quality.



The intensification of ties between the two countries is to be underlined by the visit to Paris of two Chinese revolutionary ballet companies and a large-scale exhibition of Chinese art.

This autumn Paris will be the scene of major diplomatic exchanges. It may not be known which members of the troika will be coming or whether their first visit will be prior to or after the Chinese visit but the Soviet leaders will certainly be paying Paris a visit.

It now also appears likely that Polish leader Edward Gierek will visit the French capital in September and French Foreign and Finance Ministers Maurice Schumann and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing are to visit Budapest, also in September.

French diplomats are evidently making a point of intensifying relations with communists countries. Contacts between Washington and Peking, it is argued, conjure visions of an Asian Yalta and a permanent division of zones of influence among the three great powers.

In view of the expected redistribution of weight among the three world powers a reappraisal of France's policy of maintaining independence is called for, according to sources close to the Quai d'Orsay.

France may have been a pacemaker among Western countries in according China full diplomatic recognition but no longer appears fully able on its own to reap the harvest it has sown.

It is cautiously hinted that political cooperation within the larger Common Market must continue along the existing lines of France's policy of maintaining an independent role.

Hans Bartsch

(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 July 1971)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Problem of integrating West Berlin into the EEC remains unsolved

Berlin is now expressly part of the European Economic Community, the West Berlin Office of Justice press centre recently claimed triumphantly, taking as its evidence the judgment of the European Court.

The supreme EEC court, the highest legal authority for dealing with all disputes arising from the treaties governing the Community and the regulations and guidelines affecting the Community, had settled a dispute between Berlin importers and customs officials.

It was a legal battle about an EEC rake-off for the sugar content of "morello cherries in brandy" – 75 containers of them that had been imported from Yugoslavia – and which threw up basic differences of opinion about the relationship between West Berlin and the Common Market.

As far as we know not even the Soviet Union which considers Berlin "a territory with a special political status" had expressly fought out the question of Berlin's membership or otherwise of the EEC and Eratom.

In both the Rome treaties there is not one mention of Berlin. It is somewhat more interesting from the legal point of view that at the signing of the treaties on 25 March 1957 not even France in its position as one of the three Western occupying powers raised any objections when the Bonn government of the day announced that when it came to ratification of the treaties it would state that "the treaties apply also to the state of Berlin".

With exaggerated perception of nuances it was possible to construe from this that Paris had recognised the status of West Berlin as a state within the Federal Republic although the special declaration of the then Federal government could have been interpreted by a roundabout route that West Berlin was not a normal state *(Land)* of the Federal Republic.

From the tacit recognition of East Berlin as part of the Federal Republic and the virtual recognition that must needs come from Britain's entry application – for London has basically accepted the treaties with all their legal implications – the Bonn government could put forward the position of two Western powers within the framework of four-power negotiations on Berlin which would capsize the all too far-reaching demands by the East Bloc for Bonn to surrender legal rights in Berlin.

The alternative is for a conclusion leading to a Berlin agreement which comes out in favour giving up this position. Possibly there are those in the press centre at the Berlin Office of Justice who want to re-awaken memories of these factors in favour of the divided city.

Certainly it is possible to go a step further. In a joint declaration by the EEC partner countries the *Land* Berlin is expressly mentioned in connection with the conditions of aid in the EEC treaty article 92 along with those "border territories" as a part of those areas mentioned in paragraph 2c "affected by the division of Germany".

Again France and presumably Great Britain have indirectly confirmed that West Berlin belongs to the Federal Republic for – quite independent of the Bonn government's declaration – the EEC treaty states in article 227 "this treaty applies to . . . the Federal Republic of Germany", whereas in article 198 of the Eratom treaty it states, "inasmuch as no other decision is taken the provisions of this treaty apply to European sovereign areas of member states as well as the sovereign areas outside Europe that are subject to them."

For the addition confusion of lawyers there is yet another "jointdeclaration" of the governments affected by the treaty in the Euratom treaty that states that "with regard to the special position of Berlin and its need for support by the free world in the desire to support its ties with the population of Berlin" the EEC countries are willing to provide their good services in order to ameliorate the economic and social conditions in Berlin.

The formulation of these words again does not give a clear legally-based idea of Berlin's position, since it is the city's economic and social conditions only that are mentioned. The formulation of the words indeed also shows how the politics surrounding Berlin have changed since 1957.

Even if it is considered reasonable for the Bonn government to refuse to clutch at the straw of legal nuances in the wake of the four-power negotiations on Berlin in the face of its Western allies and above all its old EEC partner France and new EEC ally Great Britain, certain minimum demands can be drawn from the uncontested EEC membership of West Berlin, when it comes to the question of free access to West Berlin.

As partners bound by the treaty Paris and in future London cannot accept seriously any hindrance to the free transit of passengers and freight and the rest of the Community.

Moreover the question of representation of West Berlin by the Federal Republic to the outside world is not totally irrelevant.

In the event that Bonn and the three Western powers accept that West Berlin shall be regarded as a special political unit outside the Federal Republic in order to bring the haggling to a close – and Berliner's acquire separate citizenship – then the last link with and economic support for the city would be paragraph 4 of article 227 of the EEC treaty since: "The provisons of this Treaty shall apply to European territories for whose external relations a Member State is responsible." The two-million strong city of Berlin would then be categorised in the same pigeonhole as the principality of Monaco and the Republic of San Marino, but would have no actual rights of franchise in Community decisions, although the 350,000-strong Grand Duchy of Luxembourg would.

If it is true that Chancellor Willy Brandt along with President Georges Pompidou and Prime Minister Edward Heath has a political extension of the Community in mind they will have to consider whether West Berlin, the population of which is not much less than Denmark's, Eire's or Norway's, really can remain an indirect EEC member with no voting rights.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 July 1971)

The great divide is widened by SED conference

It began with the introduction of the foreign rate in postal and telephone communications between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. It continued with the disbandment of the State Secretariat for West German Affairs.

The demarcation of the GDR from the FRG that was decided upon at the eighth party political conference of the Socialist Unity Party is being put into practice from an administrative point of view as well.

The newly introduced measures heark back to the eighth party political conference at which the process of division of *Germany* was pushed so far that not only two German *States*, but now also two German *nations* exist.

"*In contrast to* the Federal Republic," it says in *the* minutes of the party conference, "where a bourgeois nation continues to exist, here in the German Democratic Republic we are developing a socialist German State into a socialist nation."

With this statement we saw the end not only of the old inland postal tariffs between West and East Germany but also of the political foundations for the preservation of certain institutions that kept up contacts with the Federal Republic, and which had their roots in the continuance of the German nation as *one* nation.

One of these was the State Secretariat for West German Affairs. This was founded in 1965 as the State Secretariat for Pan-German Questions and received its new name in 1967 when the Grand Coalition began to steer towards talks with the GDR. In the preparatory stages a State Secretary subordinate to the Federal Chancellor was made available for this purpose.

A description of the duties of the State Secretariat, published in 1970 in East Berlin officially stated that it was designed to bring about a good relationship with the Federal Republic and "to give political and moral help to those peace-loving and democratic forces in the West German Federal Republic to carry out the agreements made in the Potsdam agreement of 1945".

The reference to Potsdam underlined the continued existence of one nation and involved an appeal to the Germans to recreate one German State.

All these concepts are being revised today. From this point of view the announcements at the eighth party political confrence about the demarcation of the two Germanies was not simply ideological wordplay, but thoroughly practical pointers to future political activity.

Rudolf Märker

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 July 1971)

Bonn moves towards the idea of 'treaties' with East Berlin

At the last rounds of talks between State Secretary Egon Bahr from the Federal Chancellor's Office and State Secretary Kohl from the German Democratic Republic Council of Ministers remarkably matter-of-fact progress appears to have been made, by all accounts.

Following the conclusion of a Four-Power agreement on Berlin, which is expected in the late autumn the Bonn government will be aiming for the conclusion of two treaties between this country and our neighbours in the East governing the relationship between the two Germanies, and dealing with problems of coexistence.

The recent exchange of opinions between Bahr and Kohl is said to have contributed towards clarification of certain essential basic concepts.

The first of the treaties is a traffic agreement between the two German States which will lead to further highway construction, the reopening of further border crossing points, the speeding up of rail travel on inter-German lines, the introduction of a unified freight transport system with mutually applicable tariffs and an improvement to technical cooperation between the railway administrations in the two countries.

Further improvements will involve transport on German inland waterways.

According to the Bonn government this traffic agreement would not only involve new accord on improvements to travelling for individuals and representatives of firms but also improvements to the telephone, telegram and teleprinter services.

Another matter that is being tackled is an improvement in clearing procedures. These are the problems that should be cleared up under the general heading of an improvement to traffic between the two Germanies.

But Bonn is working towards a second treaty with the GDR to clear up once and for all the nature of the relationship between the two States. This could, Bonn considers, lead nearer to a normalisation of relationships and the opening up of economic competitiveness between the two Germanies as well as cultural exchanges and the arrangement of sporting events.

Bonn has been following with great interest the statesments made by leading Socialist Unity Party officials who have stated that even East Berlin is not so adament any more about recognition of the GDR within international law being a prerequisite for contractual arrangemants between the Federal Republic and the GDR.

They are now speaking of treaties "on a basis of international law". This expression is matched by Bonn's formulation of the specific qualities of inter-German relationships.

Ambassadors of the Four Powers have, we now hear, reached agreement on how a solution of the Berlin Problem should be built up. Their discussions in the near future should centre on complex questions of the presence of Federal agencies in the divided city and the Soviet request for the setting up of a counsulate-general in West Berlin.

We have been assured that the West would make its agreement dependent upon the extent of the effectiveness of such a consulate.

It is not of any importance whether the Soviet embassy in East Berlin, their mission on the Rhine or the Foreign Ministry in Moscow even controls this consulate-general.

The West in its turn demanded that there should be strict limitations on the staffing of the consulate and there should be a guarantee in the treaty that this would in no way by considered as a Soviet link with the West Berlin senate.

The apparent effect of such a consulate as leading to a Four-Power status for West Berlin can be scotched, according to political circles in Bonn, by pointing out that not only are visas required for West Berlin, but also for people from the Federal Republic who stay in Berlin, and vice versa, the Soviet consulate in Rolandseck would have to make out visas for West Berlin.

Reports from Bonn say that it is no longer so certain that the Americans have rejected the idea of a Soviet consulate with the functions described. The Americans have apparently not finished thinking about their security preparations.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 July 1971)

■ GOVERNMENT

Parliamentary State Secretaries want ministerial status



Wolfram Dorn of the Interior Ministry

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Should parliamentary State secretaries become a Vice-Minister or Deputy Minister? Should they be able to take their minister's seat and vote in the cabinet when they are standing in for him?

When the Minister is absent should parliamentary State secretaries have the right to give instructions to everyone in the Ministry, even the State secretaries who are the highest officials in the Ministry?

These are questions with which the Bonn government will soon be busying itself if the proposal drawn up by the parliamentary State secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, Wolfram Dorn, concerning the status of parliamentary State secretaries is considered ripe for discussion in the Cabinet.

Dorn and the others are giving a great deal of thought to status, far more thought than the Bundestag gave five years ago when it decided that alongside the traditional permanent State secretaries there should also be parliamentary State secretaries.

The Bundestag simply described their function in these words: "The Parliamentary State Secretary will serve to give support to the Cabinet Minister."

In the days of the Grand Coalition (CDU/CSU with SPD) six major ministries required this support for their minister. The Parliamentary State Secretary in the Chancellor's Office was a special case.

In the present coalition (SPD/FDP) every ministry has its parliamentary State secretary. At the change of government the number of "parliamentaries" doubled.

But what exact role they should play in conjunction with their minister has never been clearly specified.

Everybody knows that the Parliamentary State Secretary in the Defence Ministry, Willi Berkhan, is the right-hand man of his Minister Helmut Schmidt.

But Schmidt and Berkhan are friends and a friendship of this kind cannot be a general rule in the relationship between a minister and his parliamentary State secretary.

No one would call Economic Affairs cum Finance Minister Karl Schiller and his Parliamentary State Secretary Philip Rosenthal, nor could Education Minister Hans Leussink and his Parliamentary State Secretary Klaus von Dohnanyi be called buddies.

Transport Minister Georg Leber and his "Parliamentary" Holger Börner agree in general on the course their party should take. But Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn and his Parliamentary State Secretary Alfons Bayerl are not always in complete harmony.

It has not yet been clearly shown how Professor Karl Schiller, who has newly taken over the Finance Ministry, will get on with that Ministry's Parliamentary State Secretary, Bundestag member Hans Hermsdorf. The relationship between ministers and the parlamentary State secretaries supporting them come in all shades of the rainbow and the relationships between permanent State secretaries and parliamentary State secretaries is always in doubt.

The tension between the two kinds of State secretary is unavoidable. The permanent State secretaries are quite ready to allow their parliamentary colleagues to speak in the Bundestag at Question Time in the place of their minister.

But they react strongly to the idea that in the name of the minister a parliamentary State secretary is their senior in the ministry.

It is difficult to imagine State Secretary *Frank* in the Foreign Office playing second fiddle to Parliamentary State Secretary Moersch or the Parliamentary State Secretary in the Chancellor's Office, Katharina Focke, as the senior of State Secretary Egon Bahr.

There is a legal hurdle for the parliamentary State Secretaries to surmount before they have their way. According to the provisions of Bsic Law "the Federal government shall consist of the Chancellor and Cabinet Ministers" and only one minister in the Cabinet can have the right to vote.

So to date the only person who has been able to represent a minister in the Cabinet has been another minister. It will require an amendment to Basic Law for parliamentary State secretaries to have the right to vote in proxy of their minister.



Willi Berkhan of the Defence Ministry and Katharina Focke of the Chancellor's Office

However the the permanent State secretaries fear that the Bundestag will not raise objections to such elevation of the parliamentaries. Whenever the expression junior minister is used many members of the Bundestag nod their approval

They consider that parliamentary State secretaries should be trained at special schools for ministers following the lines of Gerhard Jahn and Ernst Benda, who were Parliamentary State Secretaries in the Ministries which they later headed.

These examples show that parliamentary State secretaries who are "minister material" do not have to go through the stage of being deputy minister before heading a ministry.

If this status, however, makes the parliamentary State secretary in any case into a junior minister, a minister-candidate, this can make the relationship between the minister and his junior so fraught with difficulties as the relationship between a parliamentary and a permanent State secretary.

The co-existence of the two types of State secretary has developed in a highly individual manner as a result of the tensions.

In the Defence Ministry the Parliamentary State Secretary became the right-hand man of the Defence Minister, but in the Foreign Office it was the permanent State Secretary who became the Minister's senior adviser.

In the Finance Ministry the "Parliamentary" Gerhard Reischl did not achieve close contact with his Minister, Alex Möller, such as the close contact his colleague Holger Börner in the Transport Ministry has with his Minister Georg Leber. There were corresponding consequences for his status in the Bundestag.

Other State secretaries are made the masters of certain expert spheres. Katharina Focke at the Chancellor's Office is responsible for European affairs.

The Parliamentary State Secretary in the Economic Affairs Ministry, Philip Rosenthal, often goes his own way, branching off from the line taken by his Minister, Professor Karl Schiller and the Permanent State Secretary, Johann Baptist Schöllhorn.

Many of the "parliamentaries" already approximate to the position of vice minister, while others are more like outsiders in their ministry and the two types of State secretary arrange their affairs according to *their relationship* to their minister and their own personal authority.

The fact that the parliamentary State secretaries now want to ascribe to themselves the official authority of the position of vice-minister shows that they are not content with the present state of affairs. But the permanent State secretaries are not going to be happy with the new role the "parliamentaries" want to assume, especially those who are strong personalities.

Some of them, including Frank and Schöllhorn have said that there will be consequences if they are subordinated to their parliamentary colleagues.

It is clear that if the "parliamentaries" have their way and accede to ministerial status they will, like ministers, have to renounce all other professional activities.

The originators of the legislation governing parliamentary State secretaries, Gerhard Jahn and Ernst Benda, both lawyers themselves, placed great value on the fact that State secretaries, like all members of the Bundestag, would be able to continue in their professional capacity since they were not minsters.

The argument in favour of this was that unlike permanent State secretaries the "parliamentaries" were not entitled to a pension.

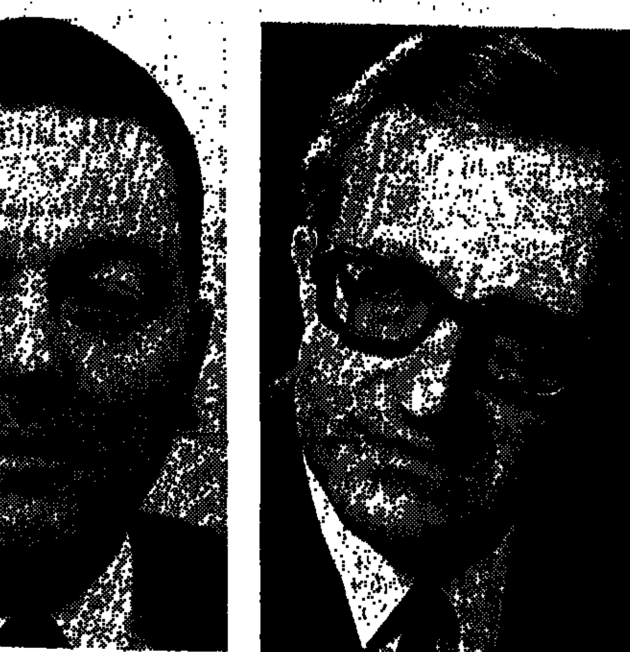
Philip Rosenthal, for instance, could have stayed in industry as well as acting as a parliamentary State secretary if he had not voluntarily resigned from the management of his company.

If the parliamentaries are to become temporary ministers in the absence of their ministers the ban on outside professions must apply to them and in fact they will become exligible for a ministerial persion.

Are vice ministers, therefore, like ministers to become eligible for a State pension after two years in office

Alfred Rapp

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 July 1971)



Holger Börner (left) of the Transport Ministry and Alfons Bayerl of the Justice Ministry. (Photos: Bundesbildstelle 4, Archiv)

LABOUR AFFAIRS

Mixed feelings about the four-day-week

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Sabine Dobberstein has a snub nose, is eighteen years old and spends ten hours a day at a conveyor belt.

She also spends most of the week wondering how she is going to spend her next mini-holiday. At Schwartau, near Lübeck, she has three successive days a week to devote to her hobbies ("I am an enthusiastic mini-golfer.").

For the past month Sabine has been one of the 450 or so workers in three West German factories who work a four-day week.

In this she has the edge on the 55 per cent of workers under thirty who according to an Allensbach poll would also like to take a long weekend.

Jam jar top controller Sabine, whose parents are particularly pleased at this extra day off work ("I have seven brothers and sisters at home," she says), owes this perquisite to the Americans and a full-page advertisement in the *Lübecker Nachrichten* of 16 May.

Kyanize Paints of Everett, near Boston, launched a four-day week experiment in 1968, since when at least a hundred other American firms, among them such well-known names as Gulf Oil and Reader's Digest, employing roughly 20,000 workers have followed suit,

On the basis of increased production of up to *thirty per cent* on the other side of the *Atlantic* an American subsidiary in this country, Eurocan of Geretsried, near Munich, started on 1 November 1970, on *the* initiative of managing director Heinz Cochems, to manufacture its refrigerator seals working a fours day a week.

Hagema, a small Bremen firm of mechanical engineers, followed suit and were soon joined by Schwartau, manufacturers *of jam*, sweets and marzipan, employing 1,100 people.

Thirty-two-year-old manging director Arend Oetker, a nephew of the Bielefeld blancmange magnate, and production manager Dr Klaus Lietz, 51, decided to give the idea a try on 10 May last.

A number of vacancies could just not be filled in Bad Schwartau with the usual working conditions. It is a small town and much of the labour force has to be recruited from surrounding country areas.

In newspaper advertisements prospective workers were offered more leisure time for their hobbies and families and given the choice between normal working hours and an early shift giving them more free time in the afternoon and a ten-hour day, four-day week on full pay.

In next to no time the first seventy vacancies to be filled in this way were snapped up. A mechanic wrote from the Allgäu area of Southern Germany to say that he would sell his house and come to Lübeck on the spot. His application was rejected. We are, Schwartau replied, only at the experimental stage.

There is every reason to be satisfied with progress so far. The lone mechanic is not on his own. His enthusiasm is shared by many of the staff, the works council (in a spot poll half the staff approved of the four-day sweat) and above all the enterprising management.

At Geretsried administrative director Kreckow of Eurocan talks in terms of nothing but encouraging experiences and Schwartau too stress that so far the experiment has proved a great success.

The reason why is obvious enough. In addition to an improved atmosphere at work. Eurocan report, after six months on a four-day week, an increase in production of ten to twelve per cent. And vacancies are a thing of the past.

With so much satisfaction on both sides (so far not one of the Schwartau four-day weekers has opted to return to the old system) it is surprising that this revolutionary change is so controversial.

It is easy enough to understand why employers are not keen on the idea. In Schleswig-Holstein they hold it against Oetker that he had not informed them of his plans beforehand.

Many major firms are not yet in a position to change over to a four-day week and they are not keen on the idea of attractive outsiders such as Schwartau, who have a variety of production lines going and are thus able to offer a choice of working hours, snapping up available labour.

Not to mention the justified suspicions many employers have that the four-day week will, in the final analysis, amount to a reduction in working hours.

This is an idea that is unlikely to appeal to employers anywhere and Schwartau feel they made a tactical mistake in advertising a 39-hour week. "We could just as easily have talked in terms of a forty-hour week including breaks."

Labour is none too keen on the four-day week as yet for other reasons too. Metalworkers union leader Otto Brenner feels it to be "out of the question until the introduction of a 35-hour week" and Wilhelm Rothe of Bavaria comments that "the spreading of the present forty hours over four working days is unacceptable for the trade unions for health reasons."

They are both staunchly opposed to the innovation yet it was the unions who originally campaigned for a five-day week with the slogan "On Saturdays Daddy belongs to me."

Dr Germanus Linz, leader of the Association of Trade Union Doctors, is afraid that health will go by the board and Dr Max Thür, a fellow-doctor and official of the Bavarian Ministry of Labour, reports in a survey that the four-day week is "solely in the employer's interest. The employee has to work for it."

Scepticism is rife at the Bavarian Ministry of Labour, which has, when all is said and done, itself introduced staggered working hours.

At a regional conference held recently for the express purpose of discussing the four-day week Alois Kohlbeck of the Ministry warned that a working day of more than eight hours in conjunction with "the prior stress of environmental influences" amounted to a health hazard.

At the same time the 1938 working hours regulations by which he is bound do not provide him with the slightest opportunity of intervening to stop the trend.

Experience so far has yet to prove that no health hazards are involved. Dr Oetker of Schwartau admittedly feels that the unions are objecting mainly because they do not like to be outdone by the management and notes that if anything fewer working hours have been lost becuase of sickness at Schwartau since the change-over.

On the other hand many workers, especially in the summer months, do voluntary overtime on Fridays. When this is borne in mind it is easier to see why there are warnings *that too many inroads* are being made on leisure time.

There can certainly be no doubt that the new working week involves a complete rethink about leisure time. The works do little in the way of helping their staff use their leisure time, least of all foreign labour.

"We suspect that the Turks work in the docks over the weekend," one head of department at Schwartau comments.

Turkish labourers are not, for that matter, the material of which production manager Lietz expects a boost in production in anticipation of the long weekend.

Otto Gerhard, the oldest member of staff working a four-day week, is more the kind of man the management have in mind. "When I go off for the weekend," he says, "I no longer get back home tired out. With three days off you can take your time and the autobahns are virtually unused on Fridays."

Herbert Riehl-Heyse

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 July 1971)

Fewer holiday jobs for students and schoolboys

Many students and schoolboys and girls are having their hopes of earning additional money over the summer holidays dashed this year. A survey of state labour exchanges indicates that industry is less keen than in the past to employ seasonal labour even though the demand for summer jobs on the part of students and schoolboys and girls has greatly increased.

The main reason for the slump in summer holiday jobs is, according to the Federal Labour Institute in Nuremberg, that many firms are working with the red pencil rather than with additional labour in view of the general economic situation.

What is more, more firms than in the past have gone over to works holidays. A number of firms are also less keen on the idea of employing auxiliary labour because they claim to have fared badly in the past because student workers have proved to be trouble-makers.

This June a mere 12,400 job-seekers in the Federal Republic and West Berlin were found holiday jobs by the labour exchanges. In June last year the number of vacancies filled was 13,800.

The only applicants with good prospects are skilled labourers, particularly girl students with good typing and shorthand.

The slump is particularly apparent in Frankfurt and the south of the country, where so far a mere 286 students and schoolboys and girls have been found jobs. In the 1970 holiday season a total of 3,000 vacancies were filled.

In Berlin too the problem is proving particularly acute. Many major firms are taking on no student labour whatsoever. Only the post office is still taking on students and schoolboys and girls as postmen.

Students in Hamburg and Hanover are alone in not having a hard time of it. In both cities the labour exchanges and students unions report that the demand for holiday labour is above last year's level.

In Hanover "foreign workers" from the south have already begun to put in an appearance after having failed to find jobs in their own part of the country.

(Die Welt, 13 July 1971)

Labour court confirms legality of industrial action

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Industrial action is a legal institution for resolving industrial conflict. According to the supreme court of the Federal Labour Court strikes and lockouts continue to be undesirable but are to be accepted. The new ruling of 21 April 1971 contrasts with the earlier ruling of 25 January 1955.

This is the gist of the paper on industrial action delivered to the Labour Law Association in Cologne by Professor Gerhard Müller, president of the Federal Labour Court.

In addition to approving of industrial action the Federal Labour Court has developed the principle of relativity. In contrast with legal principles dating from the eighteenth century that were current, say, forty years ago there can no longer be talk of absolute rights. In a industrial society rights of the community as a whole must also be borne in mind.

Industrial action as a legal institution involves not only the two sides of industry but also other parties and society as a whole. In his personal opinion, Professor Müller added, the principle of relativity was of even greater consequence for case law.

Industrial action must, he feels, be fair and taken only after all other means of settling disputes have been exhausted. Similarly, full production must be resumed as soon as conflict has been resolved.

Strikes and lockouts in sympathy, he maintained, are also legal. So, he continued, are lockouts by individual firms. Firms are entitled to stage a lockout without first consulting the employers association.

Professor Müller stressed that he was not prepared to commit himself on whether or not unions must hold a prior ballot at regional or works level before strikes or other measures could be considered legal. If the one be accepted, he added, the other must too, or so a well-known legal adage had it.

Labour courts must now develop further practical applications of the principle of relativity. It could be that wage agreements ought by law to include a mediation agreement or lengthy strikes be brought to a mandatory conclusion.

Professor Müller added that in labour struggles swift and sudden action need not necessarily be considered illegal.

He also emphasised the intentional dual nature of labour law. On the one hand the protection of the socially weaker party must be intensified by, say, providing additional safeguards against the sack.

On the other the socially weak must be allowed to join forces so as to gain the strength needed to assert themselves against the stronger party — the employers federations or the individual employers.

In a free democracy industrial action is, he feels, the appropriate means of resolving conflicts. This presupposes that strikes must not be aimed at changing the social set-up as this would amount to calling the entire system into question.

The ban on strikes in the Soviet system was, he considered, equally legal since the workers are there considered to own the means of production and Soviet law was bound to protect this system.

Order in itself does not constituts a police state, the Professor concluded. "Suicide must always be disapproved of," he noted. (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 July 1971)

■ THE DANCE

Rhineland ballet festival surprises the terpsichorean pundits

For a few weeks the Rhineland or more precisely Düsseldorf, Cologne and Wuppertal, enjoyed something that could have been called a ballet festival, broken up only by most welcome pauses for breath.

The sole reason why this festival did not achieve the fame it deserved was that there was a complete lack of cooperation between the cities involved. Otherwise this summer the Rhineland could have seen the most varied and contrasted ballet festival of the whole world.

The trouble was that no one in Cologne knew much about what was happening in Düsseldorf and no one in other cities in this area was much better informed.

Even today there are many ballet enthusiasts in the Rhineland who have no idea what was going on at the other ballet performances. It was the ballet festival that officially never was.

Taking part were not only the three great opera-ballet companies of Düsseldorf, Cologne and Wuppertal with the programmes on their repertoire and new premiered works, but also for example the Folkwang Ballet, Essen, that shared the accolades of a highly interesting evening's ballet with the Wuppertal company.

A work that the Wuppertal ballet had specially commissioned from Günther Becker was performed two times consecutively interpreted by different choreographers and their ensembles.

Guest corps de ballet were the American Harkness Ballet, the American Classical (alias Niagara Frontier) Ballet with Rudolf Nureyev as the star dancer and a group of dancers from the Viennese Staatsoper ballet.

We should not forget that Cologne included its international summer academy of dance in this unofficial festival which was, this year, held for the fifteenth time. This anniversary was celebrated with an exceptionally skilled choreographic competition in which there was only one technical hitch. The jury made up of VIPs from the ballet world under the chairmanship of Glen Tetley, made bad judgments – undeniably so!

The Wuppertal enterprise became involved in an interesting antitheisis. On the one hand there was the "episodes" sequence, solid craftsmanship, not without inspiration, appearing exceedingly progressive both in its material and the way it used its means, but basically stuck in the Balanchinesque theatre-ballet world: Ivan Sertic with his Wuppertal ballet – the self-set theme: the dependence of Man on a power machine, his attempts to free himself and his failure to do so.

On the other hand a production that set out consistently and with one hundred per cent success to produce a terpsichorean anti-aestheticism: Pina Bausch with the Essen Folkwang Ballet in her athematic Modern-Dance version with spastic movements which was reminiscent of a *La Syphilide* ballet. t.

Becker's twenty-four minute music for a group of solists with contact microphones, amplifiers, electric modulation equipment and loudspeakers, called simply *Aktionen für Tänzer* gave both interpretations and audibly inspired background of sound.

What this proved was the complete incompatibility of the aesthetic standpoints of Sertic and Bausch.

The audience left the theatre in somewhat of a dither. But on what other occasion can this be claimed of a ballet? Wuppertal demonstrated that patent recipes for ballet are no longer possible today.

The new Düsseldorf ballet programme was on a similar although qualitatively disproportionately higher level. It offered three ballets with a starkly differing choreographic handwriting: Balanchine's *Apollo*, Erich Walter's *Piano Concerto No 2 in E Major* (by Carl Maria von Weber) and Hans van Manen's *Keep Going* (danced to Berio's *Sinfonia* reproduced on tape).

The speciality of the evening is its programme and the choreographic quality. Members of the audience who have choreographic fixations will only be partly satisfied this time by the Erich Walter and Hans van Manen creations.

The programme: Three ballets with male lead dancers that are presented by women with three differing approaches. Balanchine's *Apollo* immediately after its conception throws itself to the preceptor of the three muses Calliope, Polyhymnia and Terpsichore and after successful instruction moves on to Olympus – a ballet about pedagogic Eros.

Erich Walter's nameless hero, a man, breaks into a nocturnal Amazon-Wilis world with grotesque Hoffmannesque characteristics which gains power over him, crushes his spirit and like those before him enslaves him. It is a ballet of black romanticism about the enslaving of Man by the Sexus, like a noctural afterthought to *Giselle*.

Van Manen's man on the other hand is more successful in extricating himself from the erotic tangle with a partner – he goes wandering but cannot renounce womankind completely and at the end weaves for himself a new, shyly passionless relationship which we realise from the outset is of a temporal nature.

Like Berio's his ballet works with nostalgically alienated quotations from ballet's history in its third part. Van Manen also speaks of "a ballet within a ballet". And his ballet must be understood as a contribution towards the Men's Liberation Movement.

The casting in Düsseldorf has great strength with Paolo Bortoluzzi as Apollo, Falco Capiste in the Erich Walter ballet and Peter Breuer in van Manen's. This demonstrates the great impression made by the Düsseldorf-Duisburg company and its power.

It would be hard to mention any other ballet programme in several parts in the 1970-1971 season with such a pronounced and integrated set of themes.

The guest performance in Düsseldorf of the American Classical Ballet in the new Philips Halle which is designed for mass audiences, introduces us to a company which was already reported about at great length in this country after the Böblingen guest performance.

This company, which typically has no choreography in its repertoire dating from any time after 1945, is, so it appears, a particularly curious fruit of the American Regional Ballet Movement with its exaggerated balletic ambitions.

Unlike the American Classical Ballet the Harkness Ballet which is on a flying visit to Cologne and Wetzlar concentrates exclusively on contemporary choreography. This ballet company which once again thanks its existence to its private ambitions suffers from an unerring flair for becoming involved with choreographic mediocrity.

What we saw in Cologne of choreography by Ben Stevenson, Job Sanders and Brian Macdonald was at least achieved with similar excellence by the contributions of the latest Cologne dancer forum programme with new works by Jürg Burth, Gray Veredon and Holmut Baumann, in fact for the most part they excelled.

All attack, ferocity and verve of the very young Americans which is offered as a kind of conglomeration of dancers putting its power crudely on show, not without a certain arrogance, cannot fool us into thinking that the Harkness Ballet Company is clear in its mind over what it is setting out to do, its raison d'être and its aims.

On the other hand the Cologne dance forum evening marks a decided step forward in the really difficult process for a ballet company of discovering itself and realising what it is.

The company is beginning slowly to take shape. It is having the courage to re-work earlier works such as Baumann's witty production of Tardieu's *Die Sonate und die drei Herren* (The sonata and the three gentlemen), a prime example of choreographic theatre of the absurd.

This appears to lead the way also to a gradual process of crystallisation of the repertoire.

We made the startling discovery that the new works presented here not always but in the majority of cases gain quality in the later repetitions.

Recent examples of this are Christopher Bruce's *Wings* and Jochen Ulrich's *Lewis C.*, but also Gray Veredon's *Obbligato*. In the performances of these our understanding was enhanced by a greater degree of broadmindedness than at the premiere.

If the Cologne dance forum company succeeds in keeping up this process of qualification this most unique of Federal Republic companies has the most promising prospects for the future.

Today already it undoubtedly provides the most impressive forum for progressive choreography in this country.

On the evening after the last performance of the dance forum in this season the fourth Cologne competition for young choreographers began.

It showed how everywhere – including the East Bloc countries – Modern Dance is on a triumphal march.

This summer of 1971 Cologne has shown the ballet world for the first time that it can act as a kind of barometer for the state of consciousness of youthful international choreography.

The vital powers of regeneration of the cathedral city in the sphere of dancing seem to be far from exhausted.

Horst Koegler

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 July 1971)



A scene from *Aktionen für Tänzer* by the Wuppertal ballet (Photo: Kurt Saurin-Sorani)



Wings a ballet created by Christopher Bruce (Photo: Wolfgang Strunz)

CINEMA

The golden age of the German film – tip of a sinster iceberg

Scarcely any epoch in German intellectual and cultural history has been so misrepresented by retrospective nostalgia through rose-tinted glasses and distorted reverie as the fourteen years and three months of the German Republic between the end of the First World War and the beginning of the brown-shirted dictatorship.

They are the years of which the sceptical critic of the time, Hermann Kesten, said there was at least an appearance of a possibility that "a free people could be made of the Germans, a more humane century could be forged and the virtues of millions of Germans could be made into a German Virtue".

Those who discuss the films of the Weimar Republic speak of the great classical age of German film, the films of Murnau, Fritz Lang, Lubitsch, Grune, Oswalt, Ophüll, G.W. Pabst, Paul Leni or Henrik Galeen.

The great mass of trivial entertainment films and potboilers which set the laws still applicable in films of this kind today, manipulation and retrograde satisfaction of the wishes and desires of the hoi poloi has been largely overlooked in the nostalgic backward glances up till today.

Thus we should be thankful that on the occasion of the 27th annual congress of FIAF, the international association of film libraries in Wiesbaden, there was a look back at fifteen German talkies, vintage 1930-1933, which were precisely in those categories that are generally spoken of as just "pink floss".

Although one would look in vain for any reflection of day-to-day political activities in these films they do reflect the general mood and attitudes of those last years of the Weimar Republic.

They were the chaotic years marked by a world-wide economic crisis, gross inflation, large-scale unemployment, murders carried out by secret vehmic courts, street battles, the moral bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie, crippling resignation after a revolution that had been suppressed, irrational forces, the self-destructive flight from time and reality and deadly impotence in the face of the alternatives, anarchy or dictatorship.

Alfred Hugenberg (1865–1951), head of the German National Party and one of the most fateful figures in the Weimar Republic, a confidant of heavy industry and Hitler's stirrup boy, was not only the head of Scherl publishing house and Telegraphen Union but also of film company Ufa and it is typical of the political profile of Ufa in those days that only two artistically relevant films from the early thirties, *The Blue Angel* and *Emil and the Detectives*, both from 1931, bore the rhombus Ufa symbol.

But six other feature films with more or less clear themes of war heroics and fatherland glory, helping to pave the way to power for the Nazis, were Ufa productions: *Der Rebell* (1932) by Luis Trenker and the five Gustav Ucicky films *Das Flötenkonzert von Sanssouci* (the Sanssousi flute concerto) made in 1930, *York* (1931), *Mensch ohne Namen* (The nameless man) made in 1932, *Flüchtlinge* (Refugees) made in 1933, and *Morgenrot* (Dawn) also made in 1933.

The apparent-democracy that Hugenberg's Ufa threw around itself as a veil received covering fire from the tightened up censorship under Brüning, which was clearly right-wing orientated, as the ban on the film of Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* showed.

The list of films which intentionally or otherwise helped to pave the way for the National Socialists stretches from the mountain-climbing heroics of *Stürme über dem Montblanc* (Storms over Mont Blanc, 1930) by Arnold Fanck to *Theodor Körner* (1932) by Carl Boese, from *Marshall Vorwärts* (1932) directed by Heinz Paul to the Erich Waschneck film *Acht Mädels im Boot* (Eight Girls in a Boat, 1932).

The last-named took the particularly perfidious well-intentioned motif of the youth movement and made it into the Nazi idol of a secret society.

A direct line can be drawn between the glorification of the Prussian king as a leader (Fuehrer) figure in the Carl Froelich film *Der Choral von Leuthen* (1932) to the crowning of Hitler as Chancellor in the Potsdam Garrison Church.

"Lieder und Illusionen" – this is the formula that Siegfried Kracauer applied to describe the entertainment films of the last years of Weimar. Titles reflected point-blank optimism, such as *Es wird schon wieder besser* (Things'll soon be better) *Morgen geht's uns gut* (We'll be better off tomorrow) *Kopfüber ins Glück* (Head-over-heels with happinees) or *Zwei im Sonnenschein* (A place for two in the sun). But this optimism only existed on the silver screen.

Willy Fritzsch and Willi Forst were the happy-go-lucky window cleaners in the musical comedy *Ein blonder Traum* (A dream in blonde, 1932) directed by Paul Martin. They sang the Werner Richard Heymann song *Wir zahlen keine Miete mehr* (We'll not pay rent again) in the open air. They were aiming for a similar forgetyourtroubles effect as Zarah Leander ten years later – although the background was quite different – when she sang *Davon geht die Welt nicht unter* (It's not the end of the world) or *Ich weiß, es wird einmal ein Wunder gescheh'n* (I know miracles can happen).

Promises of the bright future ahead for the underprivileged classes and great opportunities for promotion – in a Nazi uniform – came from the 1933 Viktor Janson feature film *Der Page vom Dalmasse Hotel* where the charming Dolly Haas finally moves back as the beaming wife of lord-of-the-manor Harry Liedke into that hotel where she was a page only a short time before.

Following this look-back in Wiesbaden the anti-Nazi or at least anti-authoritarian interpretation that has been put on Fritz Lang's film *Das Testament des Dr Mabuse* (1933) is quite contestable. Not only because Thea von Harbou who wrote the screenplay was already at the time a member of the NSDAP, but also because the acute ears of the Nazis heard political allusions in the script, which Lang was only too willing to claim as his own property.

They are political implications which must be sought behind the technical expenditure of this thriller, which never reached the heights of *M* from the structural point of view, and a magnifying glass may be necessary.

In addition there are earlier Fritz Lang films such as *Die Nibelungen* (1924) and *Metropolis* (1926) which show a remarkable affinity to Nazi ideology.

Of course the German films produced between 1930 and 1933 with a soundtrack were among the pioneer talkies. Often the new dimension was to the detriment of the visual aspect of the films, being used without due caution.

This is particularly true of the films built around Richard Tauber's singing voice – *Melodie der Liebe* (Melody of love by Georg Jacoby, 1932) – Marcel Wittrisch's singing – *Die Stimme der Liebe* (The voice of love by Viktor Janson, 1933), Jan Kiepura's voice – *Ein Lied für Dich* (A song for you by Joe Mey, 1933) or Joseph Schmidt's singing – *Ein Lied geht um die Welt* (A song travels the world by Richard Oswald, 1933).

For these singers the film degraded itself into a mere pictorial showcase.

One little discovery at the Wiesbaden glance back to the golden age of German film was the harmless crime comedy *Wer nimmt die Liebe ernst?* (Who takes love seriously? 1931) directed by Erich Engel and starring Max Hansen and Jenny Jugo. This is a glowing example of how a soundtrack can serve a film with nuances of wit in the dialogue and discreet direction of the script.

At the same time this film is a portent of the heights to be reached by the nine years younger masterpiece of comic dialogue *Rendezvous nach Ladenschluß* (The Shop Around the Corner) by Ernst Lubitsch starring Margaret Sullivan and James Stewart.

Henning Harmssen

Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 July 1971)

Subsidised cinema is a threat, industry maintains

[illegible]ures released by the Federal Republic [illegible] film industry show that the cinema [illegible] this country has lost its market [illegible]. The decline in audiences is all too [illegible]. Only twenty-three per cent of the [illegible]lation are interested in going to the [illegible] and the decline in box office [illegible] in the past ten years has been over [illegible]

[illegible]vertheless the film-world is not pre[illegible] to recognise the need for structural [illegible] let alone to accept the counter[illegible]ment that has sprung up – the [illegible]d underground cinema.

[illegible] talk has turned to subsidised [illegible] and since Hilmar Hoffmann, the [illegible] organiser of the West German [illegible] of shorts and now Frankfurt [illegible] adviser came up with the idea of [illegible]munity cinema as the main aim for [illegible] next few years such talk has made a big noise. The regular cinema views these community subsidised cinemas as a threat.

To clear up the contradictory ideas about community cinemas a three-day conference was held at Sankelmark, near Flensburg. It turned out that the two camps, the owners of regular cinemas on the one hand and the champions of subsidised cinema on the other, require two completely different languages to discuss their ideas of films and cinema in our modern, changing society.

It seems as if a common point of departure with the idea of coming to a friendly cooperative arrangement is no longer at all possible.

The regular cinema has firmly fixed conservative ideas that date back to well before the 1960's apart from one or two exceptions that go to prove the rule. They simply do not want to accept that there is a new kind of film, a new kind of cinema being produced alonside conventional film productions.

The two are running along parallel lines and failing to arouse people's interest. 52.7 per cent of people in this country are aged thirty or under. So the thought processes of this younger generation of potential filmgoers are different from those of the previous generation of cinema audiences.

With 16mm film producers aiming at a younger market and cinemas supported by local authorities opening in areas where there were no cinemas, however slowly, the days of community cinema cannot be far away.

Joachim Fischer

(Die Welt, 8 July 1971)

Barnay's creation celebrates 100 years of existence

KielerNachrichten

After the plaudits in the theatre had died away actor Ludwig Barnay, who was also known outside West Germany and who had been the centre of attraction of the evening, sat for hours at desk and strengthened his contact with a number of his colleagues, most of whom were not so famous.

Barney was the initiator and founder of the present-day *Genossenschaft Deutscher Bühnenangehörigen* (Friends of the West German Theatre).

One hundred years ago in July 1871 the first Allgemeine Bühnen-Congress (General stage congress) took place in Weimar. It was Barnay who set this in motion with a call that was heeded far and wide.

Today this society has become a trade union organisation and is a definite concept in the theatrical world. The society is allied to the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions via the artists' union and takes part in negotiations with the *Deutscher Bühnenverein* on the other side of the table, representing theatre managers, whenever wage-scale negotiations and contracts are to be hammered out.

Many major names are among the members of the society today. They are artistes "who really do not need to belong to a union organisation" as one theatre manager put it, obviously not understanding the idea of the society.

Hans Söhnker, Rudolf Vernau, Werner Hinz, Hermann Schomberg, and Carl Raddatz belong to the organisation as well as Ingeborg Hallstein, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau and Hans Korte.

When the organisation was founded 100 years ago only a handful of people belonged to it, but today it is 12,000 strong.

Among the first aims of the organisation was theatre concession legislation to guarantee that only competent members of the profession could take over a theatre, a general disciplinary law for all theatres in order to protect members of the acting profession from the whims of the then often infamous house regulations and above all the alteration of the one-sided right expressed in contracts to a mutual right for actors and theatre managers by means of the creation of a generally valid contract draft.

One of the greatest successes of the society was in 1924 when it introduced the normal stage contract which is basically still valid today, but has been developed further.

At that time the bases of remuneration, rest periods between performances and rehearsals and the requirements of maternal protection were firmly anchored in a standardised contract.

Under its honorary president, Kammersänger Wolfgang Windgassen and its president Heinrich Wüllner, who has been in office for twenty years, the society is today trying to obtain greater social security for members of the acting profession by means of contracts running for several years at a time and protection from dismissal for members of collective groups.

One of the bulls that the society has taken by the horns is the demand for actor participation in theatre management and the demand that the theatre should be included in the new Company Law.

Joachim Redetzki

Kieler Nachrichten, 6 July 1971)

■ EDUCATION

Universities continue to have trouble with minority groups

It took a 1,200-strong police cordon to ensure the election at the third attempt of Nikolaus Lobkowicz, 40, the new vice-chancellor of Munich University, which with 25,000 students is the largest in the country. For security reasons the election was held not on the campus but in the city's Residenz, which was sealed off for the occasion.

It is scandalous enough when a correctly convened administrative body is no longer able to conduct legal elections on its own home ground because the police are unable to guarantee law and order there.

The first attempt to elect a new vice-chancellor of Munich University in the largest university lecture theatre was brought to an untimely conclusion by student demonstrators. The same happened a few days later in an off-campus building that was allegedly easier to cordon off.

This, then, is the scandal. It is no laughing matter, no longer even comical. What is the electoral college to do, retire in secretcy to some hole and corner or other?

Once again one is reminded with a jolt how easy it is for a handful of determined, partially intelligent people to make a laughing stock of the institutions of self-administration and bring them to a standstill.

This is the way to reduce the university, or any other comparable institution, to anarchy – either that or have its administration taken over by the State.

The next election to be obstructed, or at least made a laughing stock of, could be that of a director-general of broadcasting, a trade union leader, a bishop, a burgomaster or indeed any elected office-holder.

Unless we defend ourselves this is what is going to happen, too. Our democratic institutions will be worthless and no one need be surprised if he is soon forced to retire to the privacy of his own four walls.

It must at least be admitted that the various Marxist-Leninist groups know what they in the final analysis want and are quite frank about it. They want to establish a communist society, to trigger off a revolution.

They disagree violently as to what constitutes the right way to go about it. The Stalinists, for instance, are at loggerheads with the Maoist cultural revolutionaries. But they are united in their struggle against freedom, law and order.

Each and every reform within the framework of the existing system serves them solely as a means of adding fuel to the fire of revolution. They do not even hide the fact. They frankly admit it.

They do not obstruct elections because they feel a better candidate deserves their support (though even this excuse would be illegal and democratically inadmissible). They do so in order to continue the process of eroding democratic institutions.

They would be only too happy if the powers that be were to hit back. The appointment of a government commissioner to run the affairs of a university would not upset them; it would merely confirm their teachings.

Since their revolutionary convictions are absolute and dogmatic liberal democrats need not beat about the bush either. Our institutions may be in need of reform, particularly Bavarian universities, but their free and democratic basis must be defended as uncompromisingly as their enemies choose to attack it.

In other words, if all else fails the police must be called in to guarantee the freedom of self-administration. If all else fails academic staff must suspend lectures that are obstructed and refuse to hold examinations. There is no logical alternative.

The tragedy of the university situation is that things were allowed to come to this pass. Enough has been said about the vainglory of many heads of department. On occasion their opportunism is diametrically opposed to the lofty claims they make for their academic work.

Many lecturers continue to congratulate themselves when their colleagues are at the receiving end and have to cope the best they can with "their" Red cells while they themselves are left alone.

The attitude of many students is even more disgraceful, though. They either do not vote at all or vote for the candidates nominated by left-wing extremists despite the fact that they are anything but Stalinists or Maoists themselves.

Polls indicate that the grey men who constitute the majority continue to feel that their interests are best served by communist revolutionaries.

There is little to choose in naivety between the present generation and the generation of students who felt in 1932 that the thing to do was to vote for the candidates nominated by the National Socialist Students' League in order to get something done.

They continue in many cases to belong to student corps and to cultivate the traditions of old. Can there, in the circumstances, be any talk of students being the elite of the nation? No such thing.Universities need not, however, be written off. Pressure is brought to bear, lectures are obstructed, even brute force employed to such an extent that one tends to forget that by far the majority of students and staff are intent on carrying on as usual despite conditions that are at times anything but normal.

Even so, there can be no underestimating the danger that political apathy, indifference and opportunism may yet toll the death knell of our universities. There can be no democracy without democrats.

Hans Heigert

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 July 1971)

Teachers union calls for comprehensive education at all levels

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The national executive of GEW, the teachers union, has declared its opposition to the fourth draft of the overall education plan on the ground that it fails to put into effect the "declared intention of the Federal government of inaugurating a progressive reform of the educational system in the interest of social democracy".

In a letter to the educational planning commission jointly established by the Federal government and state administrations GEW itemises a number of minimum demands that it feels must be in the final version of the plan.

The union maintains that school classes should be no larger than 25, particularly in primary school. The executive rejects outright the point of view that teachers feel that the smaller the children are, the larger the class can be.

GEW considers the integrated comprehensive school to be the "only adequate organisational form of secondary school education". Where comprehensive schools have yet to be established the same amount of money should be spent on staff and materials at secondary schools as is invested in the *Gymnasium*, the German counterpart of the French lycée and the British grammar school.

Employers, the union further demands, should have less to do with apprentices' day courses and trades colleges and the pre-university years at the *Gymnasium* should be integrated.

Similarly the universities ought to co-operate with technical colleges, art schools and the like and aim at developing into integrated comprehensive universities.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 July 1971)

University reform must not be left to extremists

There is not a university in the country that has such a bad reputation as the Free University in West Berlin; none at which social conflict is so self-evident or which seems to be so near the brink of disaster.

News of one kind and another must make many people wonder whether, for instance, they will ever be able to have confidence in a doctor who qualified at the Free University.

West Berlin was the first city to summon the courage to transform its university from a professorial alma mater in the time-honoured but academically long-outdated tradition to a democratic, self-governing centre of learning and research.

The aim of the city's university reform was to institute organisational changes designed to set such high standards that the university's academic output would be more than a match for competitors in both East and West.

The realms of stuffy old professors were abolished and replaced by a republic suited to the needs of tomorrow's managers.

Had sweeping changes of this kind been made in Marburg, Würzburg or Erlangen they would probably have gone broadly unnoticed. But the revolution in Berlin (and revolution is the right word) took place against a background guaranteed to spread alarm in the pastures of German respectability.

Rudi Dutschke moved from the campus to the streets and it was at the Free University that Horst Mahler, the left-wing lawyer, gained the intellectual spurs that were later to stand him in such good stead when he himself was taken to court for allegedly illegal revolutionary activity.

What is more, the Free University is only a matter of miles from the other Germany, a country that is only too delighted at the prospect of permanent unrest in West Berlin (and students have always been the most willing and able standard-bearers of unrest).

Small wonder that the Socialist Unity Party, West Berlin's Communists, is intensifying its university work with a will.

West Berlin was the first city to attempt a university reform of this kind. No first attempt is perfect, certainly not the West Berlin University Reform Act.

It will have to be redrafted but in such a way that neither extreme right-wing nor extreme left-wing opponents appear to have cause for celebration.

Right-wing conservatives have always seen the all-powerful state as, in the final analysis, a panacea that will kindly bear their interests in mind.

The alternative proposals made by the right-wing Emergency Action Group for a Free University bear witness to this approach. At present, for instance, the President of the University can only be dismissed by a two-thirds majority of the Academic Council. The action group would like the state government to step in as soon as 100 members of the academic staff demand his dismissal.

Or to take another example, the Senator responsible for the arts and sciences is to be empowered to step in as soon as the President is unable to perform some function or other despite having been reminded of his obligation to do so.

This, of course, is a leading question if ever there was one. The possibilities of state intervention would be virtually unlimited.

University appointments, the group feels, ought once more to be the responsibility of the state while decisions on academic staff and the post-PhD theses qualifying staff for appointment as senior lecturers are to be left solely to staff themselves. And so on.

Left-wing extremists, whose mouthpieces call for a radical shake-up of society and occasionally use violence and rotten eggs to further their demands, well outdo the conservatives in tactics of this kind.

They have successfully set about taking over the university from the junior lecturer level and assistant lecturers and tutors concentrate on bringing influence to bear on first-year students.

In his latest report Rolf Kreibich, FU President, makes it clear that the problem of the Free University is more than anything else a problem of society as a whole.

Terrorism, he notes, is largely the work of first-year students and has little or nothing to do with university reform as such. It is due primarily to frustration at school and family level.

As far as these young hotheads are concerned this may well be true but there can be no denying that the universities are taking a beating.

The debate about the Free University as a bastion of academic study is conducted in a manner that is, in the main, unacademic. It is a matter of hysteria, the vainglory of yesteryear's demigods, day-to-day party-political disputes, pseudo-revolutionary balderdash and, sad to say, an intolerable amount of unreason.

Yet the Free University has recently experienced activity on the part of people like Professor Schwan whose specialised knowledge, common sense and commitment to democracy are worthy of note.

Since the West Berlin University Reform Act has been in force the performance of the Free University has by no means suffered to the extent the opponents would have us believe.

Admittedly the FU has yet to find its place in society, universities having long ceased to be groves of Academe removed from the mundane sphere of politics.

Left- and right-wing extremists have long realised that this is the case and the policies they pursue at and with the Free University are political ones. The liberal Centre, broadly based in its political spectrum, is still in the process of assembly and hesitating before taking action. It is high time action was taken. Democratic reform of the university or reform must be the work of middle-of-the-road liberals and of them only.

Dieter Fitzau

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 July 1971)

MEDICINE

Dyslexia seems to be caused by social conditions

Frankfurter Rundschau

What is dyslexia? In the fifties no one knew but today it is almost fashionable to hold forth about it. It means weakness in reading and writing, but, and this is the striking factor, in people of normal intelligence.

Dyslectics write many words incorrectly but many of them are outstanding at other subjects, for instance mathematics.

The biggest puzzle is what causes so-called word-blindness. Some assume that it is due to an innate weakness to perceive correctly, whereas others think that it is a simple case of a temperament that makes a person unable to use his memory correctly independently of vision defects.

A third group speaks of an organic defect of the brain.

Yet another group is of the opinion that the only weakness in the word-blind is an inability to analyse and synthesise the makeup of a word. They say that a dyslectic does not necessarily suffer from any other shortcoming.

Finally it has been mooted that emotional disturbances and unsatisfactory surroundings are at fault.

Renate Valtin has carried out an investigation into dyslexia. She took only dyslectic children – one hundred of them – for whom backwardness could not possibly be a cause of their failure at reading and writing, and as a comparative group she took another hundred with at least average ability to read and write correctly.

The results were more than surprising. The dyslectic children turned out to be better at quick perception than the other group, that is to say they were able to decide more quickly between similar and different visual patterns.

On the other hand the dyslectic group had more speech difficulties than the others, and developed their powers of speech more slowly.

But above all there were many differences in the backgrounds of the two groups, which showed that dyslectics tend to come from a different milieu, from the cultural and language point of view.

More of the children in the comparison group had mothers who had gone on beyond elementary education than was the case with the dyslectics. Fewer had learned a profession. The dyslectic group had considerably more brothers and sisters than the other hundred. Conversely those children with good reading and writing ability who were among the lower classes tended to come from families with few children. The firstborn and only-children are less likely to be word-blind.

Dyslectics are more likely to come from unfortunate living conditions. Far more of the parents of the control group owned their own house, whereas the majority of the parents of dyslectic children lived in rented accommodation and generally more cramped conditions.

Almost forty per cent of these children had no extra reading and writing tuition at home. There are more books in the houses of the non-dyslectic control group and more newspapers and magazines are read there.

Renate Valtin has written a study *Legasthenie – Theorien und Untersuchungen* Dyslexia – theory and investigation) published by Julius Beltz Verlag, Weinheim.

She writes: "Most of the characteristics shown by dyslectics are typical of the lower social strata. Once again we see the disadvantages and handicaps that children from working-class homes sufffer."

What research in this country has so far overlooked is the fact that reading and writing impediments are largely caused by social conditions. Inherited shortcomings and brain damage can no longer be blamed.

Gerhard Weise

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 July 1971)

Liver ailments are diseases of the too prosperous

In the course of the past ten to fifteen years diseases of the liver, particularly fatty liver and cirrhosis, have increased in importance for the general practioner. It has been possible to track down these malfunctions more efficiently by means of improved diagnosis and especially by optical and morphological investigations of the liver cells.

Professor E. Bühle, senior physician of the internal medicine department at Bochum's Augusta Hospital, recently spoke on this subject at a medical conference in Westerland, on the island of Sylt.

There are several factors responsible for causing fatty liver. The main factors are over-eating leading to overweight, insufficient physical exercise and eating over-rich foods.

We have learned from experience in the Western world that liver complaints are typical diseases of the prosperous.

The most important diagnostic aid is laparoscopy, histological investigation of liver cells. In a healthy person the liver contains little fat. The sickness is brought about by additional fat deposits in the cell structure of the liver.

Sophisticated dyeing methods can track down this condition. Alcohol inhibits oxydation of fatty acids in the liver. A lack of albumin and above all a shortage of vitimin B 12 are condusive to this condition.

Generally speaking, however, there are various noxious factors that can lead to fatty liver, for example diabetes, alcohol and barbituates and metabolic disturbances.

Again and again we hear that about 80 grams of alcohol per day are the upper limit for a person with a healthy liver.

For doctors, however, the question arises why only about a third of all patients who greatly exceed this limit are stricken with cirrhosis.

The causes of this degenerative process are not yet known. Liver cells have a high regeneration rate and if a patient signs the pledge even temporarily he has a good chance of recovery. In addition treatment includes a strict limitation of consumption of fat and carbohydrates.

When patients are overweight it is essential for them to take about 1,000 or at the very most 1,100 calories in each day, that is to say a crash diet. In the early stages exercise should be prescribed but in the acute stage of cirrhosis of the liver patients should be confined to bed.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 July 1971)

No sleep treatment for melancholic depressives

Tübingen scientists B. Pflug and R. Tölle recently reported in the medical publication *Nervenarzt* about a new, unusual and remarkably simple method of treating deep depressions.

Inspired by an observation made by Professor W. Schultes, the director of the Tübingen Neuro-clinic, they treated patients with depressive complaints by prescribing – no sleep!

On several occasions Schulte had noted that whenever melancholic depressives had been prevented from sleeping the previous night they were much fresher and livelier the next morning, sometimes for the whole of the next day and on other occasions for several days on end.

The first tests carried out by the Tübingen scientists were on 23 endogen depressives, eleven neurotic depressives and 23 normal healthy people. The degree of the depressions was measured according to internationally recognised tests.

The rules for the investigation were simple enough – the guinea-pigs were asked to stay awake all night. Before and after they were examined and asked questions. The results were a great surprise even for the scientists.

In the case of the neurotic depressives there was little change in their condition after the vigil. The healthy patients complained of being dog tired! But as far as the endogen depressives were concerned there was some kind of improvement in every case.

This improvement could be quantified and proved to be highly significant statistically. In some cases it lasted a matter of days, but in others several months.

The search for the organic causes of this improvement showed that in the case of the endogen depressives, as contrasted with the neurotic depressives there was a clear increase in the pressure of the blood at the ophthalmic artery, which supplies blood to the eyes. In other words the supply of blood to the brain was increased.

From their observations Pflug and Tölle deduced that withdrawal of sleep is of therapeutic value in the case of endogen depressives. For their work they received the third prize from the Anna Monika Foundation.

The effect of this treatment varies from patient to patient and fluctuates during the course of the depressive condition.

In some cases there was a sudden drastic improvement to the depression symptoms, but this did not last long. In some cases there was a relapse after a few days. But the returning condition could be checked by usual anti-depressants and in some cases a combination of anti-depressant drugs and an all-night vigil needs to be prescribed.

The successful treatment of this kind of depressive by withdrawal of sleep, according to Pflug and Tölle, shows that in endogen depressives there is an upset to the regular daily rhythms of the body which is contributory to the condition.

If the results of these tests are confirmed by future medical experiments there is likely to be a considerable rethink on treatment of depressive sleeplessness with heavy doses of sleeping tablets.

Asmus Finzen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 July 1971)

Dope – a problem among cattle too!

Neue Hannoversche Presse

Those of us who eat meat and drink milk are helping to increase the turnover in pharmaceuticals. When we put a pork chop on to cook or grill a chicken it is very likely that we are cooking ourselves a nice meal of artificial hormones, antibiotics and other medicaments.

At a recent press conference in Hanover doctors and vets stated unanimously that there is a danger for the human consumer in drugs that have been administered to animals. Loopholes in the law are being exploited for profit without any consideration of the danger to human beings.

More and more cattle breeders, according to veterinary surgeon Dr Detlev Schirmeisen, are beginning to treat their animals themselves rather than calling in an experienced vet.

Their aim is in some cases preventive, in others curative and in yet others to put weight on their stock artificially and they do so without the treatment being supervised by a qualified animal doctor.

They work with the motto "nothing comes from nothing" and receive the stuff from drug manufacturers, fodder producers and vets who have gone in for a sideline.

The "meat improver" is aided in his work by unsatisfactory laws, lack of control and supervision, loopholes and ineffectual means of supervision.

According to Dr Gerhard Jungmann, a member of the Bundestag and vice president of the national and Lower Saxony medical associations, this modern evil can only be countered by a stringent tightening up of the laws.

In this country there is an illegal black market in medicaments for animals, estimated by Heinz Köllmann, pharmaceutical adviser to the Social Welfare Ministry, to be worth between fifty and one hundred million Marks.

Farmers and mass breeders use an estimated amount of medicaments for their animals which is double that legally prescribed by vets.

The results for the consumer are that medicines such as antibiotics lose all their power when they are prescribed for him and he may develop allergies or be taken ill.

For this reason, the experts at the press conference stated, the conditions of use of medicines in food production and legislation controlling fodder must be altered simultaneously and urgently.

It would be advantageous if legislation surrouding drugs for human use and for administering to animals were formulated along parallel lines. In the interests of the consumer such legal measures would have to be imposed on an EEC basis.

The senior veterinary official in the Agriculture Ministry, Dr Helmut Apking, stated that tighter control must be exercised over animal fodder and new methods for checking for remains of medicine in flesh for human consumption must be worked out.

Up till now the methods of investigation have been too complicated to be applied over a broad area. A further measure called for by the experts was special medicaments for animals which were not damaging to human health.

Recent investigations showed that five to six per cent of beef contained traces of medicines.

In veal the situation is much worse: when a tight control was carried out two thirds of the veal in a slaughter house had to be destroyed.

Holger Krückeberg

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 10 July 1971)

■ AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS

Ertl's reception in Kiel harmed the farmers' cause

Josef Ertl is too thin-skinned. The complaints of over 5,000 farmers at the Ostseehalle in Kiel were too much for the sensitive Agriculture Minister.

Probably he would have been better advised to start off with a demonstration of calmness and control pent-up situations with a few self-assured sentences.

The president of the Farmers' Union, Constantin Freiherr von Herreman, showed how this can be done and the anger of a large number of people bubbling below the surface was stilled on several occasions during the farmers' conference.

But it is difficult to chalk up this failure against Josef Ertl. The initiated at least realised that something was brewing in Kiel and that perhaps something should be brewing. With a few sentences the next conflict would have been provoked.

Ertl had made the presidium of the Farmers' Union promise in advance that the meeting would stay on the right lines when he made his appearance.

Nevertheless we can assume with some consolation that the farmers' representatives gave the Minister an inkling of the illwill of the farmers as it was shown at the last agricultural conference in Bad Godesberg.

It was unfortunate circumstances that led to the organisers losing control of the reins at the decisive moment.

For a start Ertl was half an hour late. When the president of the Farmers' Union of Schleswig-Holstein, Hans-Jürgen Klinker, as the host and organiser announced that Ertl had landed at the wrong airport (which was not correct any way) the farmers' anger towards Ertl had been aroused even before the Minister put in his appearance.

Secondly Constantin Freiherr von Heereman's microphone broke down at precisely the juncture where Josef Ertl lost control of the farmers and Heereman wanted to step in and pour oil on the troubled waters.

But Ertl did not notice the technical hitch and was left believing that the Union's presidium had left him in the lurch and not stuck to the guarantee it gave in advance.

As he, relying on this guarantee, had warned his audience three times that he would go if he were not allowed to speak in peace, he had no alternative but to make good his threat.

This is not the first rumpus that has been seen in Kiel's Ostseehalle involving riled Schleswig-Holstein farmers. Many still remember how 4,000 peasant throats howled down Sicco Mansholt, the "farmers' bane" from Brussels for two hours.

Klinker's militant Farmers' Union had called for this boycott and it is not without reason that it is called "the green Kremlin". Now with Ertl's visit Klinker's green guards have shown their mettle again.

Klinker, a CDU politician in Bonn, was a poor host. He allowed the rumpus to break out instead of using all his influence on the farmers to calm down their tempers and quell their desire for a punch-up.

Organised rowdies such as this who reject the idea of discussion and howl down anyone who thinks differently from themselves tend to lose the sympathy of those who provide thousands of millions of Marks for them in subsidies.

Hans-Jürgen Klinker is chairman of the advisory board of the West German agricultural public relations organisation (CMA). He is hoping to obtain at this precise moment 18 million Marks from the CMA budget in order to promote the image of German agriculture. But by his behaviour in Kiel he has helped to give the farmers a bad reputation.

Because of their economic situation the farmers have probably never met with so much understanding among members of the general public as at present.

The Kiel punch-up has certainly done nothing to promote this feeling. Josef Ertl went to speak to the farmers filled with good will and he is certainly not the loser at the battle but the agricultural sector was. Certainly Josef Ertl will never again come out so strongly on the farmers' side as he has done in the past. The balance sheet of what he has achieved for them in the Cabinet and in Brussels certainly cannot be displeasing to the farmers.

When he has received no thanks and recognition for what he has done his departure from the Ostseehalle is certainly not an affront to farmers in this country as the Farmers' Union claims, but an understandable reaction.

The rabble-rousers among the farmers' leaders should consider this carefully. When you are constantly demanding large-scale help from the State ingratitude is a bad ally.

The moderates in the Farmers' Union, and above all President Heeremann, realise this well enough. Intentionally Heeremann's speech contained the sentence: "I will not pretend that everything the government has done was just nothing."

And he added: "I know well enough that there are some who will not be pleased to hear me recognise the efforts that have been made by the present government."

Heeremann could not have said more clearly how difficult he finds it to make all the farmers agree to his line.

An additional factor is that the young farmers are now discontented with the establishment. One group of young farmers from Schleswig-Holstein was clearly steering a collision course with its own union in Kiel.

The farmers must not overlook the fact that the kind of provocation exercised in Kiel or even a complete break with the government would achieve for farmers the exact opposite of what they are continually demanding from this government.

The fact that this must be prevented is an additional argument in favour of the group of thinkers in the Farmers' Union. The incident in Kiel should mean a come-uppance for Constantin Freiherr von Heeremann.

Klaus Peter Krause

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 July 1971)



Hans-Jürgen Klinker (left) and Constantin Freiherr von Heereman at the Farmers' Union congress in Kiel (Photo: ...)

Farmers' Union calls for change in government's agrarian policy

The German Farmers' Union conference in Kiel held between 7 and 9 July included a number of demands for agricultural policies from the Farmers' Union. Members present at the meeting complained particularly that all the efforts and industry of farmers seemed to be increasingly negated by political decisions and economic developments which were beyond the control of farmers.

In this context they spoke of:

1) Unsatisfactory decisions on farm produce prices by the Council of European Ministers.

2) Conflicting alterations to parity within the member States of the EEC as a consequence of differing income and price developments as well as the budgetary policies of the Six.

3) Failure to make the various factors affecting competitiveness, such as State regulations, compatible as well as a lack of aid in matters such as taxes, social welfare, transport tariffs, food regulations, security and the like within the framework of the EEC.

4) Difficulties arising from the extension of the Community to ten members.

5) Inflationary developments in prices and overheads in the Federal Republic simultaneous with stagnating producer-prices for agricultural produce.

The prices suggested put forward by the Community Commission on 17 June to come into force in 1972–1973 are an insult in the light of developments in costs and wage bills, the farmers complain.

They want these substantially raised and call for a reorientation and ... of economic and agrarian policies ... on a European and a national level. ... reorientation should heed the following:

Efforts to bring about a complete European economic and monetary union should be stepped up. Alterations ... parity of Common Market countries should be ruled out and the budgetary policies of all member States should ... brought into line.

Economic policies should be aimed ... the same goals with regard to steady economic growth, balancing international trade and division of incomes.

Furthermore the farmers demand that with the removal of all existing variations in State-influence incentives to competitiveness within the EEC, the marketing and price policies should be so designed that rationally run units keep pace with the rise in income of other professional groups.

Invested capital should receive interest at rates related to the state of the market and depreciation at levels permitting re-equipment.

Until this has been carried out agricultural prices within the EEC should be freed from the inflexible ties to the unit of calculation (Green Dollar) and should be fixed by the Council of Ministers in national currencies following joint criteria, and should be guaranteed by a system of levies at frontiers designed to equalise prices for all products.

Inasmuch as parities develop in various ways and the costs of industrial equipment and in particular capital investment goods as well as the incomes of the remaining groups in the various member countries, increase more sharply than the average level in the member States there should be subsidies to the common basic prices.

For as long as the revision suggested in price policies for farm produce remains unachieved corresponding measures at national level should be implemented to give the farmers a just income.

In particular a cut back in the adjustment subsidy for revaluation should be prevented from 1972 onwards. In the coming years cheap rates of interest and easy credit facilities should be continued and value added tax for agricultural products should be increased by three per cent by raising the pre-tax lump-sum.

The farmers demand that within the context of tax reforms the unfavourable situation with regard to income and the special difficulties of adjustment affecting

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Farmers and Bonn

The Federal Republic Farmers' Union wants to get together again with the Bonn government in the interests of "an agricultural policy orientated towards the future" despite the occurrances at the conference in Kiel, according to the president of the Union, Constantin Freiherr von Heereman in an interview with Deutschlandfunk, a radio station in Cologne.

According to Heereman the bridges should not be burnt. He made this clear to Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl on 9 July, the very day on which Ertl had broken off his speech to the farmers in Kiel and left the hall since he could not make himself heard.

The chairman of the West German young farmers' association, CDU Bundestag member Martin Horstmeier, offered to act as a middleman since a confrontation with West German farmers would not be of any further value.

The farmers' conference in Kiel ended on the evening of 10 July with a discussion by the young farmers' association on questions of vocational training.

The "Kiel Bases" were accepted by the 240 delegates. In them the farmers called for a reorientation of agricultural policies in the European Economic Community and in the Federal Republic as well as an increase of 12 per cent in farm prices for the next economic year.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 July 1971)

BUSINESS

Industry is bracing itself for possible credit crisis

Does our economy threaten to collapse because of a lack of liquid ...? This is a question that we hear time and again when there is talk of the restrictive course of the Bundesbank in Frankfurt, discussion about retroactive cash deposits and the more or less permanent purging of the souls of "sinners" who take out cheap credit abroad and interfere with measures to curb inflation in this country.

The result of such declarations is reports of panic in companies that the door will be slammed shut on them and a rush to take out loans abroad or fight for higher credit lines in this country.

It is the aim of the Bundesbank to catapult as much money from abroad out of our national economy as possible. It is succeeding in doing this by making it clear to speculators that they cannot expect to make any more profits from revaluation of the Mark and by thus closing the open flank, that is to say the uncontrolled raising of loans abroad by German companies.

This taking out of credit abroad is to be checked or even cutback by the introduction of so-called *Bardepot* (cash deposits).

If this gets over the hurdles in the Bundestag after the summer recess and is introduced by, say, 1 October – backdated, if it is to be really effective – this will have the following results for industrial companies in this country:

Suppose they take out a loan for three months at an interest rate of between 7⅛ and 7⅞ per cent, which would have cost them between eight and nine and a half per cent in this country. If they now have to manage a cash deposit of perhaps twenty per cent, that is to say a minimum reserve at the Bundesbank which is not due for interest, their foreign loan becomes 25 per cent dearer and they will probably lose interest in it.

For the financial chief who cannot cut down his credit there are now a few thought patterns that involve varying degrees of danger for the company.

He can pay back his foreign debts and take out credit in this country in their place. If the amount of liquid cash available to the banks in this country at the time has been exhausted and he cannot convert his debts he will prolong his foreign loan.

Thus the problem for him is reduced to a question of the price, but there is no question of an acute shortage of liquid cash.

The situation is different if his company is not among the largest or he only got his loan from abroad because a bank stood guarantor. At the request of the Bundesbank there should not be any keenness to extend the period of guarantee, at least in the case of the big banks.

Companies for which the Eurodollar market is a closed shop and which need to take out new loans or want to consolidate short-term financing over a long period have noticed a definite reluctance on the part of West German finance houses.

Interest rates will increase. They have gone up in the past four weeks by about half of one per cent.

If a deterrent interest rate is no longer enough to master demand there must in future be greater selectivity.

The time at which these measures are to be feared is the autumn if – and there is no certainty about it – economic boosters will bring large-scale demands for credit to bear on the banks.

Anyone who obtained credit lines in good time can sleep peacefully now. Anyone who has good business connections with his finance house also does not need to fear too greatly.

But the fact that credit cannot just be rustled up when we are short of ten to twenty thousand million Marks-worth of foreign loans should not be overlooked.

Nor should we forget that it is not the intention of the Bundesbank for foreign credit simply to be replaced by domestic loans.

In banking circles a cut in minimum required reserves is awaited. This would ease the credit squeeze somewhat. And there have been numerous promises from Frankfurt that the Bundesbank does not intend to bring about a credit crisis.

Nevertheless company managers should be seeing to it now that their sources of credit are guaranteed and will not dry up on them, and they should be consolidating their financial position before they undertake extension and rationalisation steps to their investment programme.

This is one of the main reasons why orders are piling up in those finance houses that offer long-term industrial credit. But even with an effective interest rate of nine and a half per cent it is more and more difficult to make everybody happy. Re-financing is jammed because of the crisis on the market in fixed-interest securities.

It is the smaller and medium-sized companies that must arm themselves the most because if it comes to a mad, vicious scramble for credit the heavily-armed major companies are likely to take the pickings.

Oskar H. Metzger

(Handelsblatt, 13 July 1971)

Exports continue to rise

It is always astonishing to see how strongly and steadily West German exports increase, despite all the difficulties in recent years – the upward revaluation of the Mark in the autumn of 1969, devaluation abroad, a rapid increase in prices at home and recently the temporary floating of the Mark and the resultant *revaluation-type* effects.

But exports increased by fourteen per cent in each of the past two years. There has been a further increase of thirteen per cent in the first five months of 1971. The freeing of the exchange rate of 9 May is still too recent to have had much effect on this figure.

It is true that prices abroad have in some cases increased more rapidly than in the Federal Republic, thus assisting our export situation. But that alone does not explain the success of our exports. There are other more important reasons.

It must first be remembered that the range of West German exports is extremely broad, especially in investment goods needed throughout the world with the rapid growth in industrialisation. Goods from this country are still thought of abroad as being high quality products.

But the main reason is that export firms from this country are determined to keep their hard-won markets abroad and are not prepared to give them up to satisfy the perhaps temporary increase in home demand.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 July 1971)

Continued from page 10

agriculture should be taken into consideration.

Details of the demands are:

- Maintenance of average taxation.
- Adjustment of tax-free allowances to ... developments.
- Extension of depreciation facilities to comply with agricultural development.
- Treatment of old-age pensions for farmers as if they were pensions for other professions.
- Removal of basic tax, orientation of wealth tax and death duties with regard to the value of the unit and removal of death duties on the farm itself when handed down directly.
- The remainder of the property levy to be taken over by the central government.

(Handelsblatt, 9 July 1971)

Federal Republic is not so pricey

With a price increase rate of between four and five per cent the Federal Republic is doing relatively well compared with other countries, according to figures published by the Bonn Labour Ministry recently.

Of the 21 member countries of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD, the Federal Republic lies in sixth place with prices that have risen 4.3 per cent between February 1970 and the same month this year.

Only Canada, Greece, Finland, Belgium and Luxemburg enjoyed a lower level of price increases. The countries worst hit by price inflation are Sweden, Great Britain, Eire and Iceland with price increases between 8.4 and 11.7 per cent.

The Federal Republic comes out even better in a long-term comparison of the period 1963-1971. This country is in second place with a plus of 25 points behind Greece with eighteen per cent.

The greater number of European industrial nations and the United States of America have seen price increases of between thirty and fifty per cent. But way out ahead of all countries as far as price rises are concerned is Iceland where in the last eight years prices have gone up by 250 per cent!

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 July 1971)

Kiel Institute publishes report on the economy

Hopes that there would be a slowing down of the inflationary spiral of rising wages and prices this spring in the Federal Republic have proved to be false, according to the Kiel Institute of International Economics.

The Institute headed by Professor Herbert Giersch has published a report on industrial and economic policies at the middle of 1971.

As a result of the floods of liquid cash coming in from abroad the inflationary process has been able to regenerate itself. Yearly price increases hovered around the five-per-cent level, at which the expectation of inflation seemed to be confirmed.

According to the Institute the government's decision to float the Mark was the first essential on the road back to currency stability. It stated that the Bundesbank was once again in a position to control the volume of money at the Central Bank on which the credit financing potential of other banks depends without this being disturbed by influxes from abroad since it no longer needed to buy foreign exchange in return for Marks. This is, the Institute says, compatible with the aims of stabilisation.

But according to the Institute in Kiel a second essential measure for the restoration of the stability of the Mark has not yet been implemented. There must be general agreement all round about who bears the responsibility for which of the economic aims in the changed conditions. For the allocation of roles with regard to economic and industrial policies in a system of flexible rates of currency exchange is basically far different than when there are fixed parities.

The Bundesbank is, according to the report, able to control the amount of money in circulation and consequently the demand for cash when there is a flexible rate of exchange so that from the monetary point of view the sales of the potential gross national product are not affected.

It is therefore in a position to guarantee a necessary condition, and only a *necessary* condition, for full employment.

This only becomes an adequate condition for a far-reaching exhaustion of the full production potential when those who offer their goods and services keep their demands for prices and wages within the framework of the overall rate of increase throughout the whole economy, which is at the root of the advance reckoning of the rate of monetary expansion.

The tasks of the policymakers in the monetary sphere will be made harder in the near future by the fact that the permissible rate of price increases is way below the level we are seeing at present.

In order to bring back price increases to the maximum permissible level without stringent credit squeezes and endangering the level of employment the Bundesbank must – as economics experts are everlastingly telling us – leave no doubt in anyone's mind which course it is taking and intends to keep taking.

With the Bundesbank having gained control over the supply of ready cash and being in a position to control monetary demand in connection with its credit policies fiscal policies lose much of their significance with regard to the stability of the currency. For if the overall demand for cash is limited effectively the State can only gain a greater share in the gross national product by cutting private demand whether by higher taxes or by raising loans through the normal channels.

Whereas the aim of balancing foreign trade has, according to the Institute's calculations, been ensured by floating the Mark and the responsibility for stabilising price developments is in the hands of the Bundesbank, the responsibility for the degree to which production capacities are used falls on the industrialists and the responsibility for the security of employment devolves to the trades unions.

Industrialists who complained of falling sales while there was an increase in monetary demand should blame this on their own price policies.

On the other hand individual trades unions should give greater consideration than ever to their tactics of negotiation and the strike weapon in their pay demands.

The question whether the workers who are represented by the trades unions will be prepared to risk losing their jobs for a one or two per cent higher increase in wages will gain in importance.

According to the economic experts in Kiel the companies could endanger stability and perhaps themselves too by demanding not only a development in wages that conforms to stable levels, but also a return to the old parity.

Asking for both at the same time means knocking the balance of payments lopsided. This would lead to a currency crisis or imported inflation in the form of a renewed battle for bigger slices of the cake.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 July 1971)

■ RESEARCH

Old sailing ships' logs to aid international met work

The Volkswagen Foundation has made the meteorological service in Offenbach a 320,000-Mark grant to process and help evaluate roughly 1.2 million meteorological data collected under the aegis of the Hamburg naval observatory by former officers on sailing ships in the equatorial and southern Atlantic Ocean.

Processing of these observations will form part of the Global Atmospheric Research Programme.

The data are at present stored in some of the oldest and most comprehensive archives of ship's logs in the world at the marine meteorological office in Hamburg.

They are of particular value for national and international meteorological and oceanographical research because they were made in parts of the Atlantic that are sailed far less frequently now that the days of sailing ships are past history.

The lanes used by ships under sail varied considerably depending on weather conditions, fortunately as it turns out for present-day research purposes.

Meteorological data from the Southern Hemisphere are particularly valuable for climatological, oceanological and statistical purposes because there is, in comparison with the Northern Hemisphere, more water, less in the way of habitable areas and fewer and less conveniently located observation posts than modern meteorology needs.

The old ship's logs also provide missing information about atmospheric conditions and seasonal variations in seas that considerably influence the atmosphere and weather well into the Northern Hemisphere.

The relevant data are culled from ship's logs by retired naval officers who served on sailing ships themselves, know from personal experience how the extremely detailed logs were compiled and are in a position to assess the value of the information recorded.

All information, particularly details of wind, atmospheric pressure, air and water temperature, cloud, visibility, swell and the weather in general is being stored on magnetic tape and mechanically evaluated by electronic data processing equipment at the headquarters of the meteorological service. The data will be put to particularly varied practical and scientific use in the near future in the organisation of two Global Atmospheric Research Programme experiments. The programme is jointly sponsored by the World Meteorological Organisation and the International Council of Scientific Unions.

One, the tropical GARP experiment, is mainly aimed at detailed research into the considerable exchange of energy between tropical seas and the atmosphere and is due to be conducted in the equatorial Atlantic in 1974.

The other, worldwide experiment is to be conducted in 1976 with the aim of gaining more detailed information on general atmospheric circulation, including, on a temporary basis, detailed data for worldwide numerical weather forecasting. This programme will involve the use of automatic observation posts in the South Atlantic.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 July 1971)

Most people favour space research

Seventy-two per cent of adults in this country feel that space research is essential for scientific and technological development, according to a lightning survey conducted by Wickert Institutes of Tübingen, the market research organisation.

Seventeen per cent of those questioned felt that space research projects were unnecessary and a further eleven per cent classed themselves as don't knows. Despite the Salyut tragedy the figures differ little from a similar survey conducted last January.

(Die Welt, 3 July 1971)



Nuclear power on the seabed

Siemens and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm spent four years research and R & D work on *Tristan*, standing for thermo-electric radio isotope battery for terrestrial purposes. It converts heat generated during the decay of radio-active matter into electric power. Following successful tests underwater *Tristan* will be used in underwater experiments in the German Bight next year. The diver here shown is in no danger because the radio-active fuel is encased in such a thick "shield" of ... that radio activity in the immediate vicinity will ... conform to maximum security requirements. The apparatus can be used a depths of 1,100 fathoms. (Photo: S...)

NEWSPAPERS

Tinsel world of the 'yellow press' is an opiate of the masses

VORWÄRTS

About a half of the population of this country is on the run – from itself and from reality. For a minimum of five Groschen older women, members of the lower income groups, small-town and rural dwellers in the main wrap themselves up in a rosy dream world every week with their brightly coloured magazines, a profusion of which is sold at kiosks.

The results are horrifying: people become fatalists, apolitical – some are even driven to the borders of fascistic thinking.

One regular subscriber to this subculture known as the yellow press had only one thing to say when she heard that Belgian miners had gone on strike because of social abuses: "Aaah! Poor Queen Fabiola!"

In the yellow-press club 25 million people live, laugh and weep with Fabiola, Soraya and Co.

There is no real competition for the brightly coloured magazines, often called the Soraya Press after its favourite subject.

It has few judges to tell it what it should or should not print since serious minded people would never take any of it seriously. And so it goes on its weekly way without many worries.

The evolution of this fool's freedom began *after the War*. Today the total circulation is up to about ten million copies. That means that something like 25 million literates read it, 25 million people with 25 million votes.

Over one third of the people in this country draw on the yellow press as a source of information. The sort of information that could be read from a rainbow – colourful, but without foundations, coming from nowhere, going nowhere – information for cloud-cuckoo people, refugees from the world, people seeking solace and comfort.

Now that the days of cottage industry are gone and the working world is strictly separated from the world of the home these two sections of a person's life are strictly separated.

Thus people's interest has shifted from the paragons of work, industrialists, scientists, statesmen to the paragons of leisure, high society, filmstars, sporting heroes and popular artists.

Art has taken on a new function; it is now a compensating factor. It is no longer a complete appraisal of being, but a Romantic contrast to the dull drudgery of everyday living. "Alighting from everyday routine" is all the easier the less demanding people are in their artistic tastes.

The rainbow press makes alighting from life child's play. Everything is so fairytale-beautiful, the figures are so proud and rich, their sexual nature is all so clean and pretty and nice, their problems are all black and white with no confusing shades of grey. The way they speak is so full of feeling, all their statements are so pleasing.

And the horoscopes are so full of hope and happiness. The recipe for life served up in these magazines is so tasteful. The love stories are so full of sweet sorrow and the pain of love is always assuaged in the end.

How wonderful to hear such touching confessions that no priest will ever hear – just you and I.

Rows and rows of colourful magazines are to be found on German bookstalls – they include: *Frau, Frau im Spiegel* (Woman through the Looking Glass), *Frau mit Herz*, (Woman with Heart), *Goldenes Blatt* (Golden Journal), *Heim und Welt* (Home and World), *Wochenend* (Weekend), *7 Tage* (Seven Days), *Freizeit Revue* (Leisure Time), *Neue Post, Das Neue Blatt, Neue Welt, Neue Weltschau, Neues Zeitalter* (New Age), *Praline, Sexy, Kripo Reporter* (CID Reporter) and *Neue Gerichtszeitung* (New Court Journal).

In their format, price and regularity of publication the yellow press journals have become rather like the weekly illustrated magazines. Their niveau is hermaphroditically flexible.

Despite many similarities between the rainbow press and the illustrated news magazines and the popular press (such as their declared main aim of entertaining) there are significant differences that make each of these various products of the presses individual.

Differences defined

Walter Nutz has carried out a survey of West German weekly colour magazines and clearly marked out the varous differences. Unlike "serious" publications which make the dissemination of information their main and inviolable task illustrated magazines and "boulevard" papers select certain themes from the daily round of events and accentuate them as being the most significant matters to report.

They totally ignore subjects that they feel are not suitable for their readership. As far as the yellow press is concerned these publication stick to certain well-mapped-out themes and serve those up regularly in slightly differing forms.

In the rainbow press all characters and events are subordinated to the central figure. There are no intermediates, polarity is all; good and bad, black and white, city and country, king and subjects, government and governed – these are the poles that make up this view of the world.

What marks these gay magazines off from the boulevard press is their complete lack of news coverage. In fact it is rare that anything that ever was news is allowed to pervade this fairytale world. *Bild* on the other hand does fill its columns with news events – the ways and means it employs are irrelevant.

The illustrated magazine is another breed and is typified by the perfectly composed photographs it prints. These are generally the core around which the magazine is built and it is often the picture captions that illustrate the pics. The illustrated weekly presents the news grandiosely in words and pictures.

But the yellow press is fairly static. The way in which it excludes news and builds up the constant fairy story marks it off from the dynamic world of newspaper journalism where what happened the day before yesterday is history and the world of the illustrated magazines where a week old story is all right as long as there are pictures.

The static world presented by the rainbow magazines is of course an apolitical world. The effect it has on readers can be seen from some examples quoted by Walter Nutz.

In 1967 when the democratic setup in Greece was beaten down by the officers' junta the rainbow press poured out millions of copies of magazines reporting on the domestic worries of Queen Anne-Marie and the sadness of the poor royal children in Athens.

There was not a mention of the dubious actions of the monarch during the military takeover, no mention of the unjust system, the arrests, the deportations, the torture.

The short visit of the Shah of Iran to these shores in 1967 kept the yellow press in copy for several weeks on end. "His Majesty, His Imperial Highness" was welcomed by the friends who had been true to him for years in our beautiful Fatherland. After his "happy stay in our midst" he was given an equally warm sendoff.

One or two factors were never mentioned by the yellow press; like the circumstances surrounding the peacock throne, the student riots in Berlin and the death of Benno Ohnesorg (a demonstrating student shot by a policeman).

Oppresssed people who stand up and try to defend themselves are not overlooked in the yellow press – they are generally passed off as rioting rabble. The fight for social equality is described in the yellow press as "dark clouds gathering" and "dark shadows" passing over the ruling classes.

These publications use the power of words as an instrument of domination. The rabble and dark clouds are gone after reading these periodicals. They identify themselves with the ruling classes. This group considers itself "in".

It is foddered regularly with authoritarian modes of behaviour – presented as would-be maxims of living by would be majorities to which one must be obedient.

Absoluteness is the characteristic of their wonderful world; complications and rational scepticism are the stigma of the "out" group to which all intellectuals belong. This "in" group hates progress and is laden with strong apolitical ideas. "Voting, voting, voting! It's all madness. Those in power do what they like."

Despite the inroads that television has made into the srious press the circulations of Soraya Weekly have risen continuously.

Specific need satisfied

They satisfy a specific need. The whole range of their "leading officials", blue-blooded, pure-bred, show-biz types satisfies, according to the supposition of H.C. Meyer from Süddeutsche Zeitung, the need for voluntary submission.

Or perhaps it is a genealogical need as Harry Pross assumes: their theme is the continuation of the family. Thus the overwhelming popularity of such unfortunate women as Soraya and Fabiola; Thus their obvious interest in domestic affairs of the rich middle-classes, filmstars and sport idols and VIPs from all branches of society."

Basically the reader of the yellow press is in full flight from reality, from the reality that surrounded him, or her; the excessive demands of society, let us say the alienation of his or her own self or let us say *Angst* at his or her own existence.

And "the world of false dreams" (as H.C. Meyer put it) serves the reader as a welcome *Ersatz* for unachieved individual autonomy and also therefore for lack of democratic understanding.

Erdmute Beha

(Vorwärts, 8 July 1971)



Magazines that aid the reader to flee reality. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag/Werk)

■ MUNICH 1972

Electronic brain will mastermind Olympics

The manager has his data bank, the sports reporter covering the Munich Olympics will have the electronic super-brain, a computer chock full of background material on the Olympic Games since 1896, information likely to be drawn upon for many a story.

This fastest and most comprehensive information system ever at the disposal of the general public at an international sporting event has so many facts in reserve that if the 4,000 journalists expected at Munich next year were to be plied in writing with all the data it has at its command they would have to plough their way through twenty goods waggons of printed paper.

The Olympic brain will never be at a loss for an answer. In a matter of seconds it flashes on to the screen at 72 information panels the name of the gold medallist in the double shot at a running deer in 1896 at Athens.

It can provide potted biographies of more than 9,000 athletes, promptly supplies the questioner with the German word for breast-stroke, the rules of military riding for horse-lovers and details of social events at Munich and Kiel for visitors.

This is by no means all. Siemens, with contracts worth 65 million Marks for the 1972 Olympics, will be using five 4004/45 computers at the Games. Ten thousand miles of wiring link the computers with 400 teleprinters, forty data-printers and 100 monitors at sports facilities, press and information centres.

Siemens will be supplying not only the press with the latest information. Complete and accurate information is needed first and foremost by adjudicators and officials.

Since spring 1970 thirty computer men have been working non-stop on preparations for evaluating the input of results according to Olympic rules and regulations.

Since the beginning of this year 110 programmers have been translating the results of their work into terms comprehensible to the computers. Seven million symbols will be used, as against a mere 4.2 million in the Bible.



Outside broadcasting camera and transmitter developed by Siemens to be used within the Olympics stadium. (Photos: Siemens)

Computers are Gigo-programmed (garbage in, garbage out) and only function properly provided each item of information is accurate, particularly advance information.

This is why it has taken thirty people a year to check the rules of each discipline with the appropriate sports associations. Yet misunderstandings continue to arise.

In boxing, for instance, the German rules were taken as the norm and only in exceptional instances were the Queensberry rules in the original English version to be consulted.

It transpired, however, that the seventy-one-year-old lady responsible for the translation into German had departed quite considerably from the meaning of the original. Which was to be used? A final decision has still to be taken.

Sixty per cent of programming consists of what are called plausibility controls, checks designed to ensure that the computer itself will sound the alarm should the information with which it is fed not make sense.

Computers may be superior to the human brain but as in management they will only provide assistance in decision-making. The final decision remains in the hands of the adjudicators.

The computer centre at Oberwiesenfeld, Munich, the Olympic headquarters, was completed a few weeks ago. It stores, arranges and compares electronically all incoming data. 196 printing devices print out information in 6,000 different kinds of lists.

They will not only be providing up-to-the-minute information and daily summaries, however. As soon as the Games are over on 10 September it is intended to provide the press with the final report. This is some achievement when it is borne in mind that it took two years for the final report of the Tokyo Olympics to be prepared for publication.

Dry runs are already in progress at Munich. From the end of this year tests will be simulated to ensure that the results service functions accurately and without technical hitches.

Preparations have also been made to cope with emergencies. Even if both main computers and the standby computer break down the teleprinter service will still be at the ready to supply information manually. Even if the worst comes to the worst, then, the organisers would be no worse off than their predecessors at Mexico City in 1968.

Not everyone can be at Munich in person, of course, and the international television centre will be there to ensure that a thousand million viewers all over the world will be able to follow the progress of 9,000 athletes in 21 sports and 196 disciplines as they compete for Olympic medals in 31 arenas between Munich and Kiel.

A hundred colour TV cameras will relay pictures and 450 commentators' commentaries in 45 languages to the TV centre, where twelve different programmes and sixty sound-tracks will be ready for relay all over the world.

A technological miracle consisting of thousands of relay facilities will switch in fractions of a second to the required arena, break off links no longer needed and establish new ones.

Not all events can be transmitted live. In order to provide comprehensive information the Olympic TV factory will can the lot, recording every moment of the Munich Olympics not on film, as used to be the case, but on magnetic tape, which is faster and simpler.

Some sixty video tape-recorders will be in use at headquarters, each o[illegible] roughly 600,000 Marks. The o[illegible] complex for the use of TV comm[illegible] will contain sixty booths, each [illegible] commentators, where link men [illegible] low the course of events on monit[illegible] provide running commentaries.

With the aid of a closed-circuit [illegible] at Oberwiesenfeld anyone interes[illegible] the course of events for profes[illegible] reasons, as it were, will by pre[illegible] button be able to select one of [illegible] programmes on one of 3,000 TV [illegible] so check what is going on at any [illegible] main arenas, pools and so on.

This will be the first time facil[illegible] this kind have been made availab[illegible] Olympics.

Televiewers in Vladivostok o[illegible] Aires will not notice whether [illegible] sun has long since set in Munich. [illegible] floodlighting will ensure an imperc[illegible] transition from daylight to artifici[illegible]

Each of the 550 floodlights, [illegible] metal and steam lamps called pow[illegible] and specially developed by Osram [illegible] vides a spectacular 18,000 watts of [illegible] The two-million-watt floodli[illegible] system will be operated by touch-[illegible] controls at the Olympic stadium co[illegible] panel.

Siemens are providing not only [illegible] floodlighting but also wiring the en[illegible] Olympic site. Sixty miles or so of [illegible] distribute current around the O[illegible] stadium which alone boasts no fewer [illegible] 15,000 electric points.

The power used during the Games [illegible] be equivalent to the day-to-day [illegible] quirements of a town of 80,000 peop[illegible]

In the men's section of the Olym[illegible] village there will be a five-storey medic[illegible] centre equipped with the latest devi[illegible] known to the medical profession, par[illegible] ularly doctors specialising in sport. [illegible] centre is intended for use less [illegible] hospital than as a diagnosis and fir[illegible] centre.

X-ray cameras with amplif[illegible] equipment and closed-circuit TV [illegible] ments will show at a glance whether [illegible] athlete has done himself serious injury [illegible] is merely suffering from a sprain that ca[illegible] be dealt with by means of electr[illegible] therapy.

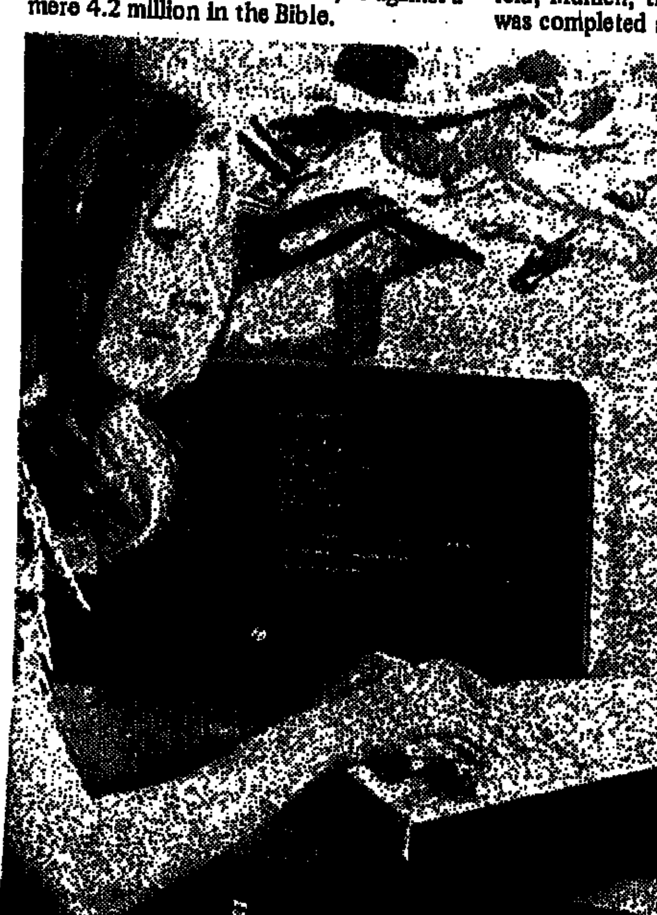
In the event of an emergency a speci[illegible] ly equipped ambulance will be at t[illegible] ready. One of the devices on board w[illegible] be an electric heart pacemaker.

The 230 doctors and 1,400 assistan[illegible] will be ready to help not only Olym[illegible] athletes. Ten mobile diagnosis centres [illegible] be on the move giving spectators [illegible] visitors medical assistance.

Temperamental sports commentat[illegible] have also been borne in mind. At time[illegible] their hearts almost cease to beat whe[illegible] their national favourites put up a p[illegible] show. The cardiac ward at the [illegible] centre will be on standby to help the[illegible]

Ursula Pfeger-Eid[illegible]

(Handelsblatt, 12 July 19[illegible])



One of 72 information panels that will provide on TV screens latest results (left). A corner of the Olympics medical centre.

SPORT

Willi Daume, the man behind the Olympics



(Photo: Sven Simon)

Gemini is Willi Daume's sign of the zodiac but there could be few things he would more dislike than to be like or compared with anyone else.

The cable address of his Dortmund iron foundry is Iron Daume, which could also create a false impression. Even when he is tough Willi Daume is no tougher than hard but resilient rubber.

He is an industrialist by profession but would seem to run his business as a sideline. His main occupation is surely that of stage-managing the Munich Olympics, a trade in which he could well be called an ex officio professional.

Willi Daume has already devoted a tenth of his life to providing this country with the largest and most expensive event of its kind since the Federal Republic was founded.

He has already reaped thanks and curses. Time alone will tell which were justified. To this extent he has certainly made his mark as a sports official.

Were it not for Daume the Munich Olympics would not even be a twinkle in someone's eye. Whether it be said with a sigh or as a mark of respect there can be no denying the truth of this statement.

Daume's idea has mobilised 2,000 million Marks, changed the face of a city, made a country the world's shop-window and created a hallmark of Germany that will long range alongside sauerkraut and the Volkswagen beetle.

This, then, is the task to which he has devoted six years of his life. This is what he *works fifteen hours a* day on, neglecting in the process his business, his family and everything pleasant in life.

"Do you find time to enjoy life?" he was once asked. "I don't want to enjoy it," he replied. "What I want is to live my life the way I want to live it."

Way of life is one of his favourite expressions. His includes an engagement book that is full to the brim, a chaotic sense of time, two secretaries, a personal assistant and mountains of paperwork.

At one stage his secretaries were using three letterheads: Federal Republic Sports League, National Olympic Committee and Organisation Committee for the 1972 Olympic Games.

At one stage he had three offices, one in Frankfurt, one in Munich and one in Dortmund.

For a long time he lived in two places at once and frequently three, his home in Baden-Baden, his works in Dortmund and an address in Munich, the Olympic city.

He is a lover of grand designs, as he once admitted. At the same time he is a stickler for detail. At his express wish his office typewriters boast imitation handwriting keyboards.

In Feldafing, near Starnberg and its picturesque lake, he rents an ageing and ornate villa worth millions but there is a camp bed in his Munich office so he can catch a few hours' sleep after working into the small hours.

It is hard to fit Willi Daume into a preconceived picture.

He claims to be interested in art, particularly in modern art. He used to read a great deal about the subject and visit exhibitions, limiting himself to quick snacks in order to be able to do so.

He nowadays hardly finds the time to tour the galleries but quick snacks are still his stock in trade. The Olympic idea now makes even greater demands on his time.

Willi Daume has eaten, slept and drunk the Olympics ever since the day, five years ago, when he was given the go-ahead for Munich by the International Olympic Committee meeting in Rome.

Organising sport is not the healthiest of activities. His temples are greying with increasing rapidity and his eyes show signs of too little sleep. He limps a little when walking — the result of an old sport injury.

In debate his pale office face turns a light shade of red, his right shoulder is always hunched an inch or two lower than the left one an he seldom fails to convey the appearance of both effort and concentration.

"He knows," one biographer has written, "that he has passed a threshold crossed by few indeed. He can now talk of the crowning achievement of a lifetime."

Is this what has motivated him? Daume himself is none too keen on pathos of this variety. His way of telling the truth has always been a particularly exacting one for members of the press.

After important, venomous, confidential, political discussions, particularly with GDR officials about the joint Olympic team that saw the light of day at three successive Olympics, he used to take the pressmen back to his hotel room and sit down on the edge of the bed before informing them "in confidence" what had happened.

Willi Daume had his own ideas as to what "in confidence" constituted. Only censorship could be worse.

Questioned about the threshold and the crowning achievement Daume has even less to say for himself. It had, he said, just happened that way.

He embarked on this marathon five years ago. He had already been president of the Federal Republic Sports League for fifteen years and created the impression of having been worn down by years of dispute over the joint Olympic team.

He was disapproved of by Chancellor Adenauer, reviled by the other side and invariably entrenched in all-German positions that had already been abandoned by first Chancellor Adenauer, then Chancellor Erhard, then Chancellor Kiesinger.

In the end the fiction of an all-German Olympic team collapsed altogether. Willi Daume's mission was over, Daume himself the loser. Then he hit on the idea of hosting the Olympic Games.

Did it just happen that way? If it did this has been the story of with Daume's life. At the age of 25 his father died and he had to take over the management of an iron foundry employing 300 people.

At the age of 32 he took over as chairman of Eintracht Dortmund, a local sports club. From then on there was no stopping him.

He went on in succession to become president of the Federal Republic Handball Association, president of the Federal Republic Sports League, a member of the International Olympic Committee and president of the National Olympic Committee.

One of the consequences of the post-war situation was that his mission became an increasingly political one. And at the end of the fiction of an all-German Olympic team he was left type-cast in the role of the tragic hero.

This did not tally with Daume's way of life, with the idea of playing with grand designs. Since he was neither able nor willing to play the part of a tragic hero he "let events take their course" just once more and gained acceptance of Munich as the venue of the 1972 Summer Olympics.

This was what he has always wanted. A factory-owner and major shareholder in a brewery and a private bank could never have staked a claim to immediate and immortal fame that stood the slightest comparison with that of Daume the Olympics man. This is doubtless an important reason why there is so much that is otherwise incomprehensible and contradictory about a man who has paid so little regard to his business, his family, his energy and his health for the sake of an idea.

Has he never had his doubts, never been unable to sleep for the pangs of remorse? "I would prefer not to answer that question," he replies.

He bares his soul to very few people, probably, indeed, to no one at all. He is by nature a loner but unfortunately, as it were, he is unable to carry out most of what he thinks of on his own.

He doubtless does not distrust his associates as a matter of course but he certainly does not credit them with a great deal. His methods of working is a constant source of frustration for his immediate surroundings.

Recently his former personal assistant Fritz Hattig, who has long since parted company with his master's umbilical cord, tried to paint a picture of Willi Daume and his work.

Hattig's attempt was such an intricate business that only the initiated were able to understand. The shadow of Daume the man loomed large over the writer.

In Herbert Kunze Daume is reputed to have chosen a "soft" general secretary for the organisation of the Munich Olympics, the idea being in practice to combine the posts of president and general secretary.

Willi Daume has invariably managed to make more friends than enemies for his targets but he has always succumbed to the temptation to go it entirely alone.

Over the past five years, however, his last grand design has assumed such gigantic proportions that it has become a law unto itself. Daume has redoubled his efforts to keep the machinery under control and not to be swept along by the momentum of developments.

For the money that is being ploughed into the Munich Olympics ten thousand 100,000-Mark kindergartens could be built. Or forty fifty-million-Mark hospitals or 400 five-million-Mark old folks' homes.

This is merely to convey some idea of the amount of money involved. It hardly needs saying that this amount of money would just not be forthcoming for projects of this kind.

At the same time there can be no doubt that sums of money of this kind start to become a law unto themselves. The man at odds with the spirits he has conjured has recently shown signs of psychosomatic symptoms.

Mere toughness would long since have proved too brittle. Iron Daume has resiliently stayed the pace.

A task of this magnitude could well be his undoing and prophecies enough have been made but, always excepting an act of God, this will not happen if the character and way of life of Willi Daume are anything to go by until he has passed the finishing post.

For the sake of the Olmypics Daume has foregone his favourite position, that of president of the Federal Republic Sports League, the largest organisation in the country. The pundits are already prophesying that he is quietly preparing to take over at the helm again once the Olympics are over.

Whatever else happens one thing is certain. Once the Olympics are over Willi Daume will be moving house and looking for "something nice and quiet in the Black Forest."

Horst Vetten

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 July 1971)